K.P. CHATTOPADHYAY

AN ESSAY ON THE

HISTORY OF NEWAR CULTURE

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M.Sc. (Contab)

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by K.P. Chattopadhyay, M. Sc (Contab)

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INTRODUCTION

This book was originally published as '*An Essay on the History of Newar Culture*' in the nineteenth volume of the JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, issued on 17th October, 1924. Every scholar of anthropology and all others who take keen interest in the people of this Himalayan kingdom have not failed to notice the Newars of Nepal as unique and interesting people. Though it is not the right place to treat the subject at length, all the same it is incumbent upon a writer of an introduction to such a book to state his views on the main theme.

The Newars have impressed the world as unique and interesting people in a number of ways. By religion, some of them are Buddhists, while others, Hindoos; but, throughout the course of history, they have exhibited a unique example of co-existence and tolerance, which is one of the prominent marks of a civilised society, but, sad to say, wanting in many civilized peoples of today. In fact, the Newars have contributed a lot to the culture and civilization of the country as a whole. The pagoda-styled temples and other monuments of Kathmandu Valley on which the tourists all over the world feast their eyes bear testimony to the artistic skill and craftsmanship of the Newars who thrived on the patronage of Newar kings ruling the three city-states of the Valley until 1768, when the whole country was unified by King Prithvinarayan Shah under one banner. Levi has attributed the resemblance of Chinese pagodas and Japanese temples to Newar influence. In one of his appendices, he has provided an interesting account of the influence exercised by the Newars on Chinese and Tibetan art. Again, many festivals celebrated in the Valley are actually Newar festivals, which point to the general prosperity and complacency leading to aesthetic sense and cultured way of life possible only in a high degree of civilization.

The Newars have demonstrated their ability in almost all walks of life. They have proved their worth as top adminis-

trators, educationists, traders, magnates of industry, and high-level technicians. They are also adventure-seekers, who instead of begging, prefer to try their luck elsewhere, both within and without the country. One can meet them in the eastern and western parts of Nepal and also in several parts of India like Sikkim, Darjeeling, Bhutan, Assam, Dehradun, Benares and Calcutta. The Jyapoos, one section of the Newars, are among the best peasants of the world. Their produce rate per acre of land is very high, but, strangely enough, they are able to produce so much without using even a plough, let alone modern farming tools. The high offices in the royal court are also mostly manned by the Newars, who or whose great-great grandfathers, they say, were appointed by the Ranas on purpose. But, quite contrary to the expectation of the then Rana rulers, the Newars proved their integrity and loyalty, and have long been enjoying the privilege of being treated as among the most loyal and dependable servants of the Crown and country.

The Newars are thus highly fascinating people, whose study will certainly provide a rewarding and enriching experience. We don't yet know for certain who the Newars are. Scholars have presented divergent views on this matter. Some scholars hold that the Newars migrated to Nepal from the north, while others hold they migrated from the south. There are yet others who consider Newars original inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley, or at least settled there since prehistoric times. The question of the accurate identification of Newars is still open to investigation and a challenge to research scholars in the field of anthropology. Undoubtedly, the present book is one of the basic documents for the purpose of studying Newars, and I have a feeling that the publisher, by contriving its re-birth, deserves thanks of the scholars' community.

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE NEWARS

§1. The literature on the Newars and their country Nepal is fairly large, although in many cases the observers did not have opportunities of recording facts from direct investigation in Nepal. The documents available date from the time of the visit of the Chinese pilgrims to India right up to modern times.

The best compendium of the large mass of information is to be found in Sylvain Lévi's book on Nepal (see infra) where he marshals and critically examines the facts given in documents of Nepalese, Tibetan, Chinese and Indian as well as European origin. His work is, however, not directly anthropological and a detailed analysis of the social organisation was not attempted.

In this essay on the Newars, I have tried to utilise the available facts on Nepal from an ethnological standpoint. The literature examined is that given in:-

(1) The subject index of the British Museum
(2) The Catalogue of the India Office Library
(3) The Bibliographies on Nepal in various books and articles on that country.[1]
(4) Poole's index to periodical literature.
(5) Articles on Nepal in Indian journals, utilised by a direct examination of them.

As will be seen from the references very few really important contributions have been overlooked by Lévi or been added to the literature on Nepal since his work, the chief exceptions being some very valuable notes in the Indian Census Report of 1901[2] and several volumes of Hodgson's manu-

1. I have not been able to examine Minayeff's article on Nepal referred to in Lévi's book, as it is in Russian, and a few others.
2. Bengal. Vol. I, p. 454.

scripts in the India Office Library. The manuscripts contain a large mass of unpublished information about the social organisation of Nepal, of which I have availed myself in part.[1]

These two sources of information have proved of great value in drawing up a table of social groups in Nepal. Lévi had to accept Oldfield's classification of Newar castes without any check except the practically useless one of Hamilton's list (see Appendices), which itself requires corroboration before acceptance. Hodgson's manuscripts in particular have proved invaluable in this respect.

The detailed classification of the two groups of Newars, that has been rendered possible by a comparative study of the different lists has brought out definitely certain special and interesting facts, leading to the hypothesis put forward in this essay.[2]

§2. The Kingdom of Nepal, situated on the northern frontier of India, falls ethnologically into three divisons, (i) the Terai or lowlands, (ii) the valley of Nepal proper and (iii) the mountainous regions on the Tibetan side. The first and third are inhabited by people at a stage of culture which is low, compared to that of the inhabitants of Nepal proper.[3] The Newars who will be discussed in this essay are chiefly confined to the second of these areas and form the most numerous

1. I was directed to these manuscripts by a reference to them in W.W. Hunter's biography of Hodgson, and by the fact that the latter had promised a paper of Newar social organization, which never appeared in print. The manuscripts have been put in order very recently.

W.W. Hunter: Life of B.H. Hodgson, Appendix B., London, 1896.

2. I have purposely refrained from discussing some interesting questions that rise naturally from the hypothesis put forward as I wish to do some intensive field work in Nepal before tackling these problems. Some of them have been mentioned in the main body of the essay; others, such as the existence of a Vaiśya priestly caste, the employment of special textile material at funerals, or the monopoly of the Bandyas in working the precious metals, have not been touched upon as requiring detailed investigation, although it may be quite tempting to put forward some interesting suggestions about these facts. I have considered it necessary to add this note of explanation, to safeguard m , against the charge of inadequate utilisation of the available material.

3. A brief snmmary with somewhat greater details will be found in the article on Nepal in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 9. (Edited by Hastings.)

group of its inhabitants. The other group in Nepal is that of the Gurkhas, who are the dominant ruling people at the present time. They have, however, entered Nepal in a body only in recent times, in fact in 1768, although previous immigration of the Khas people who form the bulk of the Gurkhas has also taken place.[1] The Newars are the earlier people, and as already mentioned, the chief inhabitants of the valley. To them are almost wholly confined metal working, agriculture, painting, architecture, sculpture and the literature that Nepal possesses.[2]

The Gurkhas are merely the military conquerors and are indifferent patrons of arts and letters; they are mainly fighters,

1. Sylvain Lévi: Le Nepal, Vol. I, p. 219 et seq. *Annales du Musee Guimet* 1905.

2. Colonel W. Kirkpatrick: *An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London 1811, pp. 101, 183, 186.

Francis Hamilton (Buchanan): *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh, 1819, p. 29.

Captain O' Cavanagh: *Rough notes on the State of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1851, Chap. III

D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, Cambridge University Press, 1877, pp. 25-6 and 45.

Sylvain Lévi: Ibid., pp. 302, 306 et seq.

All these writers, except Kirkpatrick had good opportunities of observing the conditions in Nepal, during their sojourn there.

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Percy Brown: *Picturesque Nepal*, London, 1912, Chap. III.

I. Massien: Nepal et pays Himalayens. Paris, 1914, Chap. VII. pp. 136, 138.

H.J. Elwes, F.R.S.: Article on Nepal, Supplement of the Scientific American, Vol. 79, Jan. 5, 1915, New York, pp. 358-9.

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although an out-caste group of Gurkhas includes a few artisan castes among them.[1]

The Newars are divided into:
(i) Bauddhamārgis who worship Buddha, and
(ii) Śivamārgis who worship Śiva.

The latter may be termed Hindus. Formerly the vast majority of Newars were Buddhists, and a minority Śivamārgis, but the former have been losing ground steadily for a long time in favour of the latter, who are now between a half and a third of the population.[2]

The Śivamārgis have an organisation similar to that of the Hindus of the plains, although of a much simpler character.

The highest caste is that of the Brahmans who are the spiritual guides of the upper castes. They are said to be descendants of Brahmans who had originally come from Kanauj. Next in rank are the descendants of the former Hindu Newar Kings and their agnates who rank as Kṣatriyas. The former warrrior caste of Śreṣṭhas is also held to fall within this group, though it occupies a much lower position. There are fourteen divisions in this caste (according to Hodgson) of which a good number seem to be true sub-castes based on traditional difference of origin. Sufficient details are not, however, available for any further definite statement about them.

The third group, the Vaiśyas, comprise two castes, the Joshi or astrologer and Achār or priests of local deities, presumably older cults adapted by Hinduism. They minister to

1. The ceremonially pure Gurkhas follow soldiering as their profession. Beneath them comes a group of several castes, whose water cannot be accepted. These include the smith, the cobbler, the tailor and musicians of different kinds, and the washerman.

2. For convenience, the whole mass of facts has been thrown into Appendices, A to E. The summary given in the main body of the essay represents the conclusions arrived at after critical examination of the various data. Necessarily fuller details have been left out in this part of the eassy. The subject matter of the appendices are:

A. Śivamārgi Newars, excluding outcastes.
B. Bandyas of Banrās.
C. Udas.
D. Jyapoos, and other heterodox Buddhists, as well as outcastes.
E. Historical lists of castes and other evidence.

Hinduised Newars, expound the Śāstras, and perform other religious duties, acting in fact as some kind of Brahmans.

All the three above groups are entitled to wear the thread, except some of the Śreṣṭha sub-castes. Some of these latter units, who serve as cooks and domestic servants, as well as other household menials, have been classified by one authority as śūdras.

Another caste, the Gwā, or Nanda Gwā, the cowherds, are definitely Brahmanic Hindus and seem to have existed in Nepal for some centuries now at least.

In addition to these, there are several castes of Newars who formerly belonged to the third order of Bauddhamārgis described later, but are now more Hinduised than the other members of that group and separated from them to some extent.

These castes are, the Bhāt, the Kou, the Tāti and the Kāṭhā. The Kou are merely blacksmiths, the Nou barbers, and the Kāṭhā dress wounds, and cut the umbilical cord at birth. The Tāti are not ordinary weavers but produce grave-clothes, called *ponga*, a kind of cotton cloth, to put on the dead of the Newars (brought by relatives) and also used in many religious ceremonies. The Bhāt are also connected with funerals; they accept the death gifts made on the eleventh day after the funeral of Newars of any caste (excluding outcastes). In the case of the Kṣatriyas it is mentioned that a piece of the brain of the deceased is kept covered with sweetmeats, the rest of the body being burnt, and this is eaten by the Bhāt on the eleventh day as he accepts the death gifts.

Finally, the outcastes of Nepal are at the present moment, all Śivamārgis; all the rest are Bauddhas.

The outcastes, however, shall not be discussed in the essay, as the account given in the Appendices is sufficiently detailed.

The Bauddhamārgis of Nepal are divided into three grades, of which the highest is that of the Bandyas or as commonly termed, Banrās. They are said to be the descendants of the Buddhist monks who were compelled to break their vow of celibacy and live as householders. They still live in the Vihāras or convents, although with their wives and children.

Theoretically, a celibate Bandya holds the highest rank of all, but in practice, recluses are rare and the family man, the priestly Vajra Āchārya, is paid the highest respect. A trace

of the ancient monastic life may be said to have survived in the rule about initiation to the duties of Vajra Āchārya before marriage, or in practice, before fatherhood. Beneath the vajra Āchārya is a second rank of inferior priests mainly assistants to the Vajra Āchārya in a minial capacity in the esoteric worship. They are called Bhikshus, and are hereditary gold and silversmiths.

The greater number of Bandyas including even those who still minister to religious needs, follow secular occupations. All professions except foreign trade, and the work of outcastes (see Appendix D) seem to be open to them. Their hereditary secular occupation is however that of gold and silversmiths, of which they have a monopoly in Nepal. So far as intermarriage and commensality is concerned, the different sections of Bandyas are on a footing of perfect equality. They do not however marry into or eat with any other group. The sole exception seems to be in the case of Brahmans. Only a Brahman lad can become a member of this group although not belonging to it by right of birth. He has to be adopted by a Gubhaju and initiated before marriage.[1]

The next group of Bauddhamārgis, is that of the Udas. They are the class of traders and foreign merchants of Nepal. They however follow other occupations also, as working in stone, wood or metal, and these do not constitute any bar to intermarriage or commensality. They can accept food from Banarās and also admit a man of this group to theirs but the converse does not hold.

The third group includes the bulk of the people. The Jyapoo, who stand at its head are mainly cultivators and constitute at least half the population of Nepal.[1] Besides the agriculturists, the Jyapoos have several sections (not subcastes) following different occupations, the most important of which is perhaps that of the Kumhals or potters. The other members of the third group follow carpentry, oilpressing, and other occupations. This group of Newars is, however, largely Hinduised and rapidly becoming more so.

Three important occupations for which there are definite castes of ancient origin, in India, are lacking in Newar society.

1. Oldfield, H.A.: *Sketches from Nepal*, p. 183, London 1880.

These are the physicians, the weavers and the liquor distillers. The occupation of the first is said to have been reserved for the Jaisis, among Hindu Newars, but at present it is followed by anybody competent to do so.[1] The caste of weavers of common cloth does not exist in Nepal, the needs being supplied for themselves by each household. Similar is the case with liquor distilling.[2]

In this connection it should be noted, that in Newar Society, occupations are hereditary, and members of one craft should not encroach upon the technical duties and rights of another. Some professions, however, do not bring living wages; thus the Nalli whose traditional occupation is to paint the eye of an image at a certain religious festival, certainly cannot hope to live by that alone. They have to supplement their earnings from hereditary pursuits with something else. Such people can have recourse to any of the general professions, as cultivation, petty trade, tailoring, and porter's work which are not the special privilege of any section of the people. The duties inherited must however be performed as laid down, although the exigencies of the case may have prevented a caste or section from devoting itself to that work alone.

A peculairity of these castes is that most of them have some function or other to perform at the various religious festivals. Some of these have been noted in the Appendices but the connection appears more intimate than these cases make out. The castes and hereditary occupational sections are in fact religious organizations as much as secular ones.[3]

All the above three groups of Bauddhamārgis are pure to the Newar Hindus, i.e. the latter can accept water from their hands for drinking purposes. The Banrās were especially honoured formerly as they were held to be the peers of Brahmans. The Brahmanic Hindus who have come in with the Gurkhas, however, seem to consider all Bauddhas *anācharaniya*, i.e. impure for accepting water, etc.

§3. The traditions of Nepal do not throw much light on the details of the complex social organisation. The earliest legend

1. Oldfield and Lévi : Ibid., p, 187 (Oldfield), Vol. I, 246 L.
2. Campbell: *Nepalese spirit still*, J.A.S.B. Vol. II.
3. Lévi: Vol. I, P. 246.

describes the advent of Bodhisattva Manjuśrī from Mahāchīna or China, to Nepal which was then a lake. The waters were drained by the sage and the land colonised by his companions. The affinity of their language with Tibetan,[1] as well as the Mongolian features of the Newars agree with such an account of a first immigration from the north. They do not support the story of the Newars being derived from the Nāyar soldiers of Nānyadev of Karṇāṭa said to have invaded Nepal in the eleventh century.

After the legend of Manjuśrī follow a large number of confused accounts, all however pointing to influence or immigration from India. The accounts become a little more definite with the conquest of Nepal by Kirātas of the eastern mountains. They are succeeded by Goāla Kings and these again by Ābhīras from the plains. The Kirātas, however, impose their rule again on the country and are driven out only by the Somavamśī (lunar race) princes from India who make themselves masters of Nepal.

The Somavaṁṣīs are soon replaced by another dynasty, the Sūryavaṁśis (solar race), claiming descent from Lichchhavis. The Brahmanic onslaught on Buddhism in Nepal is said to have taken place under the rule of this dynasty.

The solar race was succeeded in the seventh century A.D. by a Thakuri (royal Rajput) dynasty, various branches of which ruled in Nepal until the invasion of the Siṁhas. About 1324, Harisimhadeva, a ruler of Tirhout, said to be descended from Nānyadeva already mentioned, invaded and conquered Nepal. Shortly after, however, a Hindu Newar dynasty of the name of Malla is found reigning in the country. This dynasty continued with various fortunes until 1768 when Nepal was conquered by Gurkhas.[2]

Lévi ascribes the beginnings of Newar civilisation to Indian influence. The light of religion, according to him, came undoub-

1. B. H.Hodgson: Essays on Languages etc. of Nepal and Tibet, London 1874.
G.A. Grierson; Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III, PartI, Calcutta 1909.
In the absence of adequate linguistic as well as anthropometric data, I have considered it preferable to leave on one side speculations regarding a Mon-Khmer speaking people in Nepal.

2. Summarised from Wright's and Lévi's History of Nepal.

tedly through the Buddhsst missionaries who discreetly adapted their creed to suit the ruder people of Nepal. Before however their labours had borne fruit, the forces of Brahmanism burst in and largely destroyed their work. According to tradition this onslaught on Buddhism was led, as in India, by Śaṅkarāchārya; he crushed the Buddhist, lay and clergy, massacring some, forcibly converting others, and compelling the celibate monks to marry.

Lévi, however, suggests that the lapse of the monks from celibacy was due, not so much to the oppression of Brahmans, as to the decadence of Buddhism itself. He has supported his view with evidence from Kashmir as well as Nepal.[1] In addition, he formulates on these lines a hypothesis of the origin of the Newar social organisation.[2]

His view is that the married clergy, still living in their ancient convents, did not find their traditional religious calling sufficient for the new needs brought about by family life, and had to adopt secular professions. In this way the Bandyas formed into a clearly defined social class, and the material condition of their existence, added to an imitation of Brahmans, quickly hardened class into caste. The religious aristocracy thus formed regarded the ordinary layman as inferior, and the very natural unwillingness to share the privileges they possessed because of this condition made the caste bonds more rigorous.

Finally, the arts exercised in the convents, transmitted from father to son, attained a high degree of excellence, and as the knowledge was kept a secret in the monasteries, finally became monopolies.

On the other hand, the royal families of Nepal, the Lichchhavis (as well as Mallas) could scarcely obtain acceptance as true Kṣatriyas without opposition. Their names were too well known in Buddhist annals and the tribes had been grouped by Manu among inferior castes as Vrātya or fallen Kṣatriyas. To wipe out this stain and take their rightful place among Kṣatriyas, they followed the rules of caste with an excessive rigour, and thus led to the formation of a Kṣatriya caste in Nepal, professing a mixed Bauddha and Brahmanic faith and thereby serving to unite the two religions.

1. Lévi: Ibid. Vol. II, P. 29.
2. To be more precise he has elaborated a suggestion of Oldfield. See Oldfield, Ibid., Vol. II, Chap. IX.

Finally, the Brahmans who had brought the Ṣaiva cult from India, had also introduced among their faithful, the regime of caste, modified it is true, by the needs of time and place. In this way were formed the two divisions in Nepal, one rigidly observing the laws of caste in the matter of marrige and commensality, the other hostile in principle to caste, but already modified by contact with the other. The religious and military aristocracies at their heads formed close parallels to those of the Hindus, and the power of example given by the superior classes, was effective in fostering the growth of caste among the lower orders of the people through the force of imitation.

The conquest of Nepal in 1324 by Harisiṁhadeva, a Hindu King of authentic royal origin, hastened the elaboration of the social system. The invader is said to have brought with him seven castes, the Brahmans, Bhādelas (?), Āchāryas, Jaisis, Vaidyas, Rājakas and Khadgis (butchers). This actual caste element introduced into the population leavened the whole mass. The work of Harisiṁhadeva was completed by the royal Jayasthiti Malla, who invited to his court learned Brahmans from India to draw up a systematic rule of castes and customs.[1]

The recent conquest of Nepal by the stricter Hindus, the Gurkhas, has helped the growth of Brahmanic ascendancy still more, to the detriment of Bauddha religion, customs and social rules.

§4. Leaving traditions aside for the time being, if the actual conditions are examined, a very striking fact becomes apparent. It is that among Hindu Newars, the only definite secular pursuit followed by any caste, except the general ones of fighting, trade, cultivation, and religious worship, is that of cowherds. All other occupations are followed by pure and mixed Bauddhas.

In the discussion on cowherds and use of cattle in general (Appendix D), it is shown that the employment of cattle was not known to Newars in ancient times, and that even at the present moment, although it might with advantages be adopted, the employment of buffaloes or oxen for any kind of work is comparatively rare. The labour of cultivation, transport, and oilpressing performed elsewhere in India by oxen is here carried out through human agency. Further, it is shown from Chinese

1. S. Levi: Vol. I, "*La population; les nevars.*"

sources (Appendix E) that as early as the seventh century A.D. Newars were clever artisans and artists, although ignorant of domestication of cattle—in the limited sense employed here. The rulers of Nepal in those days were Bauddhas, but Brahmans and their religion were also present in the country.

It has, therefore, to be admitted that before the knowledge of domestication of cattle had penetrated to Nepal, a culture characterised by knowledge of metal, wood and stone working as well as hoe cultivation of a particular type was already in existence. Further, unless we assume that this condition grew up *in situ* making Nepal in fact the cradle of Asiatic civilisation, which the traditions of the country does not warrant—we have to admit that the culture came from elsewhere. Other difficulties in the way of an evolutionary hypothesis are presented by the fact that both on the eastern and western sides of Nepal rude tribes exist, who in spite of Brahmanic influence from India in addition to contact with Newars, remain or until recently remained, without knowledge of, or with only crude idea of many of the arts carried to perfection in Nepal by Newars. The native growth of an advanced civilization like that of Newars in and before the Seventh Century A.D. in Nepal would certainly have removed such a condition among any contiguous people.

Another difficulty is the existence of different grades following practically the same occupation. An evolutionist who suggests gradation according to growing complexity of occupations, will not be able to find any reasons why there should be a hereditary section of Jyapoo as well as Uda tilemakers or carpenters, or an Uda as as Banrā section of metalworkers. The fact that the religions may or actually have come from India where caste rules supreme, while it may lead to the growth of a superior priestly class, cannot explain such details as these. It has, therefore, to be admitted that ruch a culture came from outside Nepal.

The available facts indicate that before the cultural influence referred to came to Nepal, the country was inhabited by rude and wild tribes. In the neighbourhood of the valley proper there are tribes like Dooyn who were but recently hunters and collectors of jungle produce.[1] In Central Nepal there are

1. Hodgson: *Essays on Languages etc. of Nepal and Tibet*, London 74, part II, "*On the Chepang and Kusunda Tribes of Nepal.*"

the Chepangs and Kusundas who are ignorant of all arts, and live entirely upon wild fruits and the produce of the chase while their only dwellings are composed of boughs of trees interlaced to form some kind of shelter. On the east, there are the Kirāts, who although cultivators, possessing knowledge of some useful arts as weaving, yet have no craftsmen of their tribe and have to buy metal utensils and ornaments from others.[1] If therefore some allowance is made for centuries of existence of a flourishing culture in Nepal valley and India, it has to be admitted that the earlier inhabitants must have been wild tribes devoid of all knowledge of advanced arts and industries[2] like agriculture, metal working, etc.

Before proceeding further I shall consider how such an immigration affects a rude people and what are the conditions that may lead to different results.

The first condition determining the nature of interaction is the mode of reception, whether it is hostile or peaceful. In the case under consideration, it has been concluded that the earlier rude tribes of Nepal did not know the working of metal and the immigrants did; a hostile attitude must have sooner or later been overcome by the superiority of weapons possessed by the newcomers[3]; after that of course their culture would have been readily adopted by the survivors. It is more probable, however, that the reception was peaceful. In the beginning, at any rate, the number of immigrants must have been comparatively small, and the superiority of their culture would be more beneficial

1. B.H. Hodgson: *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I (Trubner), "*On the Kiranti tribe of the Central Himalaya*", p. 400,et seq.

2. It does not of course mean ignorance of the rudest and primitive arts.

3. Unless the immigrants were altogether too few in number to be able to hold their own against the earlier people in spite of cultural and military superiority. In such a case leaving out the possibility of extermination of the immigrants, when of course no culture spread or interaction can occur, the in-comers will certainly be more or less absorbed in the aborigines, depending on the difference in culture. In the case under consideration, the sharp difference in material culture postulated, would inevitably lead to the subdued immigrants acquiring a certain amount of importance, although it does not seem probable that they, or their descendants would form a superior social class marked by barriers of endogamy or forbidding of commensality. The existing social system among Bauddha Newars does not point in the direction of such a type of interaction.

than harmful to the aborigines (in the limited sense). Unless the immigrants were specially oppressive, there would not be appreciable resentment against their domination. In Nepal, as has been shown, the earlier aboriginal people were devoid of knowledge of arts and industries, while the immigrants mentioned, possessed a fairly advanced culture. It cannot be doubted that the introduction of agriculture and other arts of life (mentioned before) would much benefit the earlier people. For a long time in the beginning, the economic gain on the part of the aborigines through contact with the advanced people would be very large, compared to their previous condition, while the prestige of the immigrants consequent on their superior knowledge of material arts, and also of the weapons of war, would soften down the resentment that might arise from the submission to these incomers, that would, of necessity, accompany this process.[1] The feeling of hatred against domination grows only when it is felt, in external or internal relations. By external is meant contact with others, strangers who are not in the same condition of subjection. This factor may certainly be considered negligible in the case under consideration. Internally, i.e. in the mutual relation of the people among themselves with the immigrants, the factors determining the sentiment towards the incomers will be economic and social. As has already been pointed out the economic factor must have operated in favour of the immigrants. Socially, if the rules regulating general daily life and relation with the new comers are not irksome, very little friction will occur. Unless the immigrants are specially arrogant, their superior prestige will ensure the regard of the aborigines who will probably yield that much of respect as the due of such (from their point of view) highly gifted persons. The greater the difference in culture, the more will all the factors work to promote harmony in the mutual relations.

The above suggestions are supported by the fact that the historical immigration, or more precisely, the flight to the Gurkha country, of the Brahmans and Rajputs from the plains, was received peacefully by the hilltribes who recognised their cultural superiority. It may be pointed out that the Khas people

1. Any mental superiority of immigrants would of course favour such a line of development.

formed as a consequence of it, certainly do not observe the irksome limitations in the matter of diet or otherwise, as the strict Brahmanic Hindu is supposed to do in every-day life. Nor does the ordinary Khas man stand socially at any humiliatingly low level below the descendants of the former immigrants. Even in the matter of sex relations, where the stricter ideas of chastity have been more adopted, the actual state of affairs among the ordinary Khas is certainly much different from that obtaining among those claiming descent from the pure Rajputs and Brahmans of the plains. The success of the plainsmen has been due as much to the adaptability shown by them in accommodating their rules of life to the requirement of the hill tribes as to the superiority of their culture and the consequent prestige.

The varying degrees of influence that European culture has had in different parts of the world are in harmony with this view. As Rivers has pointed out,[1] it has been greatest among the rude tribes and least among cultured people. In the case of India, as Rivers has mentioned, the effect has been felt mainly among the people who are at a relatively lower stage of culture, especially among the depressed classes of the south. This view is supported by a more detailed study of European influence in different parts of India. Thus it is found that among different tribes of the same race, speech and social organisation, those standing at a higher level of material culture have been much less affected than those at a lower level.[2]

It is also well brought out in the varying degree of success, missionaries have had in converting primitive hill tribes, as for example in Assam and Chota Nagpore and in the reasons ad-

1. W.H.R. Rivers: "*The Contact of peoples*" in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, p. 474, Cambridge 1918.

The general theory of contact of peoples is further elaborated in his History of Melanesian Society, Vol. II, Chap. XXVIII (Cambridge 1914). It is almost superfluous to acknowledge my indebtedness for the general ideas.

2. Cf. the different degree to which the Khasis and Syntengs have been affected. The latter with their superior material culture have preserved the social rules better than the Khasis. See P. Gurdon: "*The Khasis*," London 1914. This question will be dealt with in detail in my essay on "*Cultural influences in Assam.*" I have therefore thought it preferable not to go into further details here.

mitted by the workers as mainly responsible for conversion.[1] It is acknowledged more or less frankly that conversion depends in a great degree on purely secular, in general economic, motives.

The progress of Christianity as well as Hinduism among the primitive tribes further illustrates what has been suggested about the dependence of harmony in interaction of cultures on the absence of irksome restrictions in daily life. Thus it is admitted that in Assam, among Khasis as well as other hill tribes "the stricter standard of morality is a stumbling block" and "if the missionaries were able to relax their moral code" as regards drink, sex and rest days, "the number of their converts would in all probability be largely increased."[2]

In the case of Hinduism the success of the Vaiṣṇava Gosāins in Assam has been admittedly due to their liberal views and very gradual tightening of the restrictions in the matter of food, drink and other items of everyday life.[3]

§5. The differentiation between the newcomers and the older people depends on another factor to a large extent; it is the relative proportion of the sexes among the immigrants. In the case of a hostile immigration, it is evident, that although the immigrants might hold an immense superiority in weapons of offence and defence, some compromise will necessarily result, if they are compelled to take women of the country as wives on account of a shortage of them in their own party. The comparatively smaller number of women in any immigration over a fairly large distance, is bound to be diminished still more in the case of a hostile reception. In such a case, however, it should be remembered that once the need of taking wives from outside had been fulfilled, the superior immigrant people will tend to exist as a separate and hostile group.

In the case under consideration however, there are neither any such mutually hostile divisions, nor any traditional indications of it in that group of Newars to whom the culture is confined. This fits in with the peaceful reception already suggested

1. E. Chatterton: *Mission work in Chota Nagpore*, Chap. IX, London, 1901, Census of Assam: Report 1911, p. 38.

2. Census of Assam: Report 1901, p. 45.

3. Census of Assam: Report 1891, p. 216-7 gives a good account of the process of Hinduisation.

from other considerations. It should however be borne in mind that the immigrants and their descendants would undoubtedly form a class superior to the earlier people, even though the latter are friendly and adopt their culture to such extent as they are allowed, or able to assimilate.

A factor which is of importance in determining not only the total number of the immigrants, but of the relative proportion of the sexes among them, is the nature of the route. If the way to the country is difficult or the journey has to be carried out under arduous conditions, it is evident that the number of women will be greatly limited at all times, even after the first settlements may have rendered the peaceful reception of later incomers of the same people fairly certain. In that case unless some special institution like polyandry was set up, intermixture with aborigines will largely occur and the tendency will be to have a more or less pure aboriginal group, with a superior class, of mixed origin, above it. There may in addition be a small class of the highest grade, the descendants of the immigrants who could afford to have wives of their own race. This class would be greater in number, the less difficult was the access to the country; for, a larger number of women could in that case be taken to the new country.

In Nepal, the group under discussion, the Bauddhamārgis have three such divisions, ranging above one another, the lowest being most numerous: but the two upper ones are also fairly large groups. The highest of these is that of Bandyas who are the religious preceptors of the members of the two other grades, and are also experts in secular professions, following them without dishonour. It has already been seen that characteristic culture discussed is confined to Bauddhamārgis; unless therefore some revolution has occurred in the social organisation, the descendants of the immigrants ought to be at the head of it. The facts already given suggest that the Bandyas are these people.

The second grade, the Udas, resemble the Bandyas very closely in religious ideas, manners and customs. All occupations followed by the latter can also be adopted by Udas except the work of priests and of working in gold and silver. The third grade although resembling the two upper ones in general, shows the influence of the later Brahmanic migrations. This point will be considered later. In addition to the work of priests,

metal working in general is also not found among the ordinary groups of the third grade. The Kou or black-smiths who form the exception are distinguished from the others of this grade by certain peculiarities, and as we shall see later, were probably brought into Newar society in consequence of a later influence.

This existing gradation among Bauddhamārgis is such as would grow up if the ancestors of the Bandya class of the present times had come to Nepal, with a fair number of their women. In view of the conclusions arrived at in the preceding pages, it suggests that the immigrations occurred from a place not involving exceptional difficulties of travel. The comparatively esay access to Nepal from India, as opposed to the necessity of traversing lofty and generally ice-bound passes from Tibet, favours the former country as the probable earlier home of the immigrants. It should however be remembered that even on the Indian side, there are unhealthy swamp lands and a fairly mountainous country to be crossed before Nepal can be reached. Therefore it would only be the brave and hardy men, mostly unaccompanied by women, who would first penetrate to Nepal from India. It is only when some civilization had grown up and a firm foothold gained that women could have come in any number. Such a view does not clash with what has been previously suggested. It merely takes account of the fact that migrations generally do not occur in a single mass within a short space of time, but are mostly spread over a long interval. On this view, the Udas would be the descendants of the earlier immigrants and of mixed blood and the Bandyas the later people of purer descent. The tradition among a large number of sections of the common people about descent from Banrās fits in with this view. For, some of the earliest people would inevitably be absorbed among the aborigines and this process would continue even at a later stage, until probably conditions were so settled as to allow women as well as men of the immirgants to come freely.

The fact that metal working is confined to the two upper grades of Bauddhamārgis fits in with the hypothesis suggested. Since this knowledge constitutes the immense superiority of the newcomers, it would certainly not be taught to the common people of the country. At the same time the earlier immigrants who married women of the older race would of course pass on

their knowledge to their own children, who naturally constituted a class of people superior to the aborigines. But the purer stock would retain their position above these as the bringers of culture and possessors of the Great Knowledge.

A different explanation of the origin of the three grades has been suggested by H.P. Śāstrī.[1] The Bandyas are considered to be the representatives of the ancient Buddhist clergy who came from India, the Udas of the laymen and the common people, of the aborigines. Now, the Buddhist monks of India were celibate and tradition in Nepal also indicates that in the beginning the Bandyas were not householders; in fact even in modern times there were some Vihāras of celibate monks in Nepal.[2] It is therefore evident that the early monks who were celibate must have been recruited from some section of the people who were householders. Tradition mentions a Grihastha or householder class of Bauddhas who opposed Śaṅkarāchārya.[3] According to Śāstri's suggestion, the Udas are the descendants of the householders. But if the monks were recruited from this class, it scarcely seems possible that on their own downfall the Bandyas would succeed in forming a rigid group, separated from their friends and relations, the Udas, by bars of commensality and inter-marriage. For the only difference between them and the Grihasthas was in their celibacy and religious life. Once the rules grew lax and the monks lapsed from their vows, this bar would disappear. The Udas cannot therfore be the group of Buddhist laymen from whom Bandyas were evidently recruited. The available facts definitely show that from fairly remote times there were celibate monks as well as a householder class, presumably of high status, from which the ascetics were recruited. There could not have been any difference between these two groups, except the limits imposed by monastic rules and, with the growing abandonment of the vow of celibacy, these also have disappeared.

It has been suggested by Lévi and others (already mentioned) that the light of religion was brought to Nepal by Buddhist monks. It may be suggested, that culture also was brought by

1. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstri. In the introduction written by him to N. Vasu's "*Modern Buddhism*," Calcutta, (no date), pp. 19-20.
2. Lévi: Ibid, Vol. II, p. 29.
3. Lévi: Ibid., Vol. II p. 26. D. Wright: Ibid Chap. II.

them from India. But such a condition requires that the development of Newar society proceeded on different lines from what can be inferred from existing facts. The monks being celibate would leave no descendants[1] and the culture would be given completely to their followers. A real imposition of religion requires some time and it may be presumed that the culture brought would also be fairly assimilated in that period. After civilization has been brought in this way, the immigration of lay people would not be difficult, for the initial difficulties will then have disappeared. They would however not be able to occupy a greatly superior position to the now civilised aboriginal wild tribes. The result of such a development would be to have two communites existing side by side, the relative positions being determined by the equilibrium of the immigrants and their inferior members as well as the degree to which the earlier people had assimilated their culture. The existing conditions, however, rule out such a development.

On the other hand, any hypothesis which suggests that the religion and material culture come from two different sources, has to face a good many difficulties, one of the most important being the remarkable homogeneity in manners, customs and ideas of religion among all three grades.

It has been suggested that most of the arts of the Newars had been derived from Tibetans.[2] The first difficulty that such a view has to meet is that it ascribes the introduction of religious ideas and material culture to two widely different sets of people. For, the birth of Buddhism proper in the lowlands to the south of Nepal and the early existence of that religion in that country rules out as exceedingly artifical, any hypothesis that the religion first went to Tibet and then entered Nepal by that route.[3] It is not of course suggested that later Tibetan and Chinese influences have not had any effect on Nepalese Buddhism.

1. I preclude the theoretical possibility of a wholesale lapse of monks from their vows. Only zealous apostles of religion would go so far outside their country to spread their faith and this minimises the possibility of such a downfall. In that case however, they merely take the place of the early bold immigrants who had to take indigenous wives.

2. Hamilton: Ibid., p. 29.

3. Father Giuseppe: *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, (1799) indeed suggests that the religion as well as the monastic institution are derived from Tibet.

Allowing therefore that the religious ideas mainly came from India, the difficulty arises as to how in such cases the priestly Bandyas managed to impose their religion to the extent they have done, and to raise themselves so high in Newar society apart from the very important objection on the score of the great homogeneity existing in manners and customs in the different grades, especially the two upper classes, of Newar society. As has been pointed out, the influx of a group of people with a superior material culture would lead to the formation of a class of people superior to the common mass. An immigration from the Tibetan side would indeed differ from one on the Indian side in the smaller number of women accompanying the incomers. Unless however the number of women was practically negligible, there would be three classes formed in the society evolved out of interaction, although the highest grade, the pure descendants of the immigrants, would be very small in numbers. On any hypothesis which regards the Bandyas as the descendants of later immigrants from India who brought the religion, the Udas have to be considered as representing the bulk of the descendants of the culture bringers from the Tibetan side. Apart from the absence of any superior and inferior grade among the Udas—which of course is a minor difficulty—the question arises how the Bandyas succeeded in converting the Udas and holding them in a position of definite inferiority. As has already been seen, a cultured people is far more resistive against such outside influences.

It may be suggested that the prestige of the civilization in the plains of India and the political power of the rulers with whom the missionaries were perhaps connected led the cultured Newars to adopt the religion and conform to the manners and customs of the ancestors of the Bandyas.

It may be admitted that among some border people of India, such a process has actually taken place, as for example, the Ahoms in Upper Assam, the Koches in Koch Bihar and the Meitheis of Manipur.[1] It may in addition be pointed out that while these people who thus accepted a religion (in this case Brahmanic Hinduism) and adopted certain social rules did

1. E.A. Gait: *A History of Assam*, Calcutta 1906, T.C. Hodson: *The Meitheis* §4, London, 1908.

not lower themselves appreciably below their spiritual guides, yet as soon as their political dominance was lost they sank below their former social position. It may be suggested that such has also been the case with the Udas. But it should be remembered that in the cases quoted where such conversions are known to have occurred, the people though politically dominant were decidedly inferior in material as well as mental culture. Such cannot be said to have been the case for the hypothetical descendants of the culture bringers from the Tibetan side. The treatment accorded to Bandyas themselves by later Hindu Brahmanic political rulers in Nepal itself suggests quite different and opposite conclusions.

In addition, such a theory fails to account for the intimate connection of many of occupational sections with religious duties, especially in connection with Matsyendranātha. This deity seems to be unknown in Tibet, while in India, although absent from the purely Brahmanic or Bauddha pantheon it occupies a prominent position in worship of the Indian yogis, who revere Matsyendranātha, and Gorakṣanātha as their first masters. The latter, it may be pointed out, is the patron saint of the neighbouring Gurkha country in the kingdom of Nepal.[1]

It may be objected that Matsyendranātha is not a Bauddha deity proper and therefore as the official religion of the Bauddhamārgis of Nepal is certainly Buddhism, the hypothesis suggested by myself fails to agree with the facts. This particular special deity of Newars, however, not being known in the Brahmanic or Bauddha pantheons, merely suggests that the deity was known in Nepal before Buddhism came there. For it is highly doubtful that a deity like Matsyendranātha could suddenly come to Nepal after Indian Buddhism had established its hold there, and for no particular reason enter intimately into the life of the community and its social structure. The festival of Matsyendranātha opens the religious year, and it is held by the Newars to be the most ancient of the different Yātrās or processions. It brings the spring rains; in fact without its efficacious action the heavens will refuse their waters for cultiva-

1. Lévi: Ibid., Vol. I. p. 347-54.
J.C. Oman: The Mystics. Ascetics and Saints of India, p. 184-6. London, 1903.
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII, 1884, p. 447.

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J.C. Oman: The Mystics. Ascetics and Saints of India, p. 184-6. London, 1903.
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII, 1884, p. 447.

tion. The tradition of the advent also of this deity is connected with the ending of a drought in Nepal by his intervention. There however his role is to release the Nāgas who are the givers of the waters from the heavens, as well as subterranean springs. The great function of Matsyendranātha therefore seems to be to ensure the water supply of Nepal. The fact that cultivation is the most important source of production in the valley of Nepal and that irrigation is invariably employed explains the importance of such a deity to the Newars. At the same time, it suggests that the god came into or developed in Nepal with the people who taught irrigated cultivation to the aborigines. The Newar name of the deity is still Buga and as Lévi has suggested the names Lokeśvara (Buddhist) and Matsyendranātha were probably given later to an earlier god in order to make it fall in line with the official religions.[1]

The particular sect in India which worships Matsyendranātha and especially his pupil Gorakṣanātha (associated intimately with him in the traditions), is the Kānphātā subdivision of Śivite Yogis. One of the most important parts of their initiation consists in slitting up the cartilage of the ears, distending them and wearing rings of glass, agate or horns of oxen in them. These ornaments, often weighing 2¼ ounces, are looked upon as specially sacred, and once lost cannot be replaced. How important these are may be gathered from the fact that if the ear tore apart after the ring had been inserted, the man was considered useless and in former times used (it is said) to be buried alive.[2] The intimate association of the peculiar practice of multilating the ears with a deity who presumably came to Nepal with the early culture bringers, fits in with the mention in the Chinese annals, of the custom of distending the ear lobes, practised by the Nepalese at a time when they are described as ignorant of plough cultivation with the help of bullocks (Appendix E). It suggests, in fact that the artificial

1. Lévi: Ibid., Vol. I. Les divinites locales, p. 356, Kirkpatrick, ibid. p. 190, gives the name Bhoogadeo. Father Giuseppe: *Asiatic Researches II*, (1799), p. 399, gives it as Baghero.

2. Crook (W.): Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces: §Kanphata.
Russell: Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces: §Khanphata.
Bombay Gazeteer: Ibid., p. 155, pp. 446-7.
Maclagan; Census of Punjab, 1891, pp. 114-15.

distension of the ear was practised by the bringers of culture who introduced the prototype of Matsyendranātha. It is not meant however that the exact practice as such was brought from outside, it is quite possible that something similar came in with the immigrants and developed into the practice gradually. The question can however be settled only with the collection of greater details and a general survey of the whole question of distension of the ear lobe in other parts of the world, and its origin.

The views put forward just now about the introduction of the god Buga or Bhoogadeo raises an objection which must be met before proceeding further. It may be said that while a hypothesis of the cult of a prototype of Matsyendranātha having been brought to Nepal by the original culture bringers may agree with the facts given about this deity, it does not explain the dominance of Buddhism among the descendants of these people. For Matsyendranātha is not an official Buddha deity, although in Nepal the actual relation of this god to Buddhism is very intimate and close. It has been shown before for the general case of immigration, and applied a number of times when discussing the question of migrations and their effect in Nepal in particular, that a people with a fair amount of culture do not get converted wholesale suddenly to a new religion coming from elsewhere. The social organisation and traditions of Nepal show no trace of the particular creed in question (Buddhism) having been imposed by exceptional measures of force by any later (presumably Buddhist) invaders of the country. It was therefore adopted voluntarily. In view of the strong conservatism displayed by the Newars towards the adoption of elements of foreign culture, in its material aspects at any rate, when it would have been advantageous for them to do so, it may be admitted that they would not have easily adopted an absolutely foreign religion coming from a foreign people. I therefore suggest that this religion did not come to Nepal from men of a foreign culture, but that it was developed among people of the same civilization. This would mean, of course, that a good many of the elements of Buddhism were in existence in Nepal, in the undeveloped state if I may so term it, before that religion came to the country in its official form. It may however be said, why in that case these

elements did not develop in Nepal itself. Historical facts and traditions of Buddhism show that the people among whom it rose, were in contact with Brahmanic culture, i.e. a civilization of a different type. The impulse that would be derived from this source, might be absent in Nepal because of its comparative isolation from the rest of India. A detailed discussion of the origin of Buddhism can however be undertaken only after a critical survey of the social organisation of the rest of India and must be left out in this essay.

§6. It has already been evident that the early culture of Nepal probably came from India. The facts leading to this conclusion up till now have been drawn from social organisation, and religion. The evidence from arts and crafts also seems to support this view. The data on these matters, however, is not so copious as could be desired.

The evidence from metal-working, carpentry and the related arts is indecisive. It is indeed true that the cleverest smiths in Tibet are the Newars who have gone there; further, that the Tibetans are clumsy carpenters and jewellers.[1] It is also true that formerly, over a long period, the Nepalese were the architects of the temples, the sculptors of the Buddha statues and the ikon painters of Tibet and that the Buddhist images, pictures and objects of art at present produced in Tibet, are worthless compared to the art of former times.[2] The fact that at the present moment the artisans of the Lamaseries

1. Huc: Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China 1844-6. (Translated by Hazlitt), London (no date), Chap. V.

The actual name given of the Newars in Lhasa, by Huc. is Peboun. Levi rightly (ibid., Vol. I, p. 307) concludes that the reference is to the Newars. This point is settled by Tsybikoff's statement (see below) that the Newars are the cleverest dyers and smiths in Lhasa and that these Baudhas are called Ba (I) bo in distinction from the Gurkhas of Nepal.

J.H. Dutreuil de Rhins and F. Grenard, Mission scienti fique dans la Haute Asie, Paris, 1898, II, p. 371.

C.H. Desgodins: Le Thibet, Paris, 1885, pp. 385-90.

C. Tsybikoff: Lhasa and Central Tibet: p. 730 (from the translation from Russian given in the Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, (1903).

Tsybiloff's evidence is specially valuable as he was a Buriat by birth, Lamaist by religion, educated at a Russian university, and stayed in Lhasa as a pilgrim for a whole year like so many other Buriats.

2. E. Kawaguchi: Three years in Tibet, Madras, 1909, Chap. LXIV.

(lamas who follow these arts) are far superior to the common craftsmen, does not stand against this view, if it is remembered that Newar artisans were sent to the monasteries so far distant as the interior of Tartary to decorate the great Lamaseries.[1] But the inhospitable and generally bleak nature of the country prevents any definite conclusion being drawn from these facts. It is however evident that the two countries have long been in very intimate contact, and that in the monasteries at least, Newar influence has been largely effective in improving the technique of arts and crafts. The technique of weaving however seems to show that this art did not come from the Tibetan side. While in both countries the actual weaving is invariably done at home, the technique is widely different.

In Nepal the warp is prepared separately and put in a definite loom frame, although it is very clumsily put together. The warping is performed by sticking a few reeds, about three feet long, in the ground to the length of the proposed web, and the thread is laid on these. After applying a suitable paste with a brush, the web is put in the loom. The different parts of this are not joined together, but merely put under some shed in the house. The treadles are placed in a cavity made in the floor for them. These latter do not consist of footboards moving on a fixed point to be depressed but in their place two buttons hang from the lower margin of the netting, the weaver (always a woman) seizing it between her great and first toe, alternately depressing each foot as the woof thread is delivered by the shuttle. The weaver sits on a bench and plies the shuttle alternately with the either hand, pulling forward "the swinging apparatus" to set the woof thread close to its predecessor and pressing the treadles.[2] The loom and accessories described

1. Huc: Ibid.

Ahmad Shah: Four years in Tibet, Benares 1906, p. 49 et seq.

Ahmad Shah resided a number of years in Ladakh and his information is first hand mainly with respect to this part of Tibet. His statement that the smiths of Tibet have been praised by travellers on account of their skill, does not seem to be supported by the evidence from the reliable sources of information on Tibet. Account must also be taken of recent influences in the part of Tibet where Ahmad Shah resided.

2. Campbell: J.A.S.B., Vol. 5 (1836), pp. 219-27.

By the term "swinging apparatus" Campbell means some kind of suspended beater-in of the woof, probably a reed, but this is not clear.

resemble the Indian apparatus very closely.[1]

The loom used in Tibet, on the other hand, is also in use in Mongolia and generally on the border country of northern China. The warp is fastened to the ground by large pegs at either end; the weaver squats over this and pushes the balls of thread through the warp; two or three blows from a heavy wooden batten are given on each thread of the woof, and alternate threads of the woof are kept separated by two small sticks and the batten itself. The part of the warp near the weaver is kept raised to a convenient height from the ground by a piece of wood or stone. In this way, cloths, tents, etc. are woven.[2] Rockhill further mentions that in some parts of the country there is a vertical loom but that so far as he could see there was no material difference in details. He is also definite that in the parts explored by him, there was *no shuttle*, always a ball of thread, and he suggests that the mention of a shuttle of bamboo in Jaeschke (quoted by him) might be due to its presence in Western Tibet.

The description of weaving in Ladakh, given in Moorcroft's travels resembles this closely.[3] The two ends of the warp are fastened together and it is then stretched upon two rods, one fixed to the body of the weaver (who is invariably a woman), by a cord which admits of the work being loosened or tightened at pleasure, and the other well fastened to some stones at a distance. The whole is close to the ground on which the workwoman sits, but the position close to her is slightly raised by a third rod. Loops each including a thread and received upon a small stick like a rattan, supply the place of a heddle. Of these

1. Government of Assam: *Monograph on cotton*, Shillong 1885. The actual description is given in the monograph on silk.

Government of Bengal: *Monograph on cotton fabrics*, 1898. N.N. Banerji.

G.A. Grierson: *Behar Peasant Life*, VII Chap. V. Calcutta 1885.

Government of N.W. Province: *Monograph on cotton fabrics*. C.A. Silberrad, 1898.

Government of Bombay: *Monograph on cotton fabris*. R.E. Eathoven. 1896.

2. W.W. Rockhill: *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet, in Smithsonian Report, etc.* 1893, p. 698 et seq.

3. W. Moorcroft: *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces, etc.* London 1841, part II, Chap. IX.

there are three sets which draw up parts of the warp alternately as required. A large heavy mash into which a thin bar of iron is inserted, is a substitute for the reed and three or more heavy strokes are made with its armed edge upon every thread of the woof. The last instrument must be taken out after the insertion of each piece of yarn, and when placed perpendicularly with its two edges separating the warp, abundance of room is given for the passage of the balls of worsted made use of without the cover of a shuttle.

The warp is prepared as in Nepal by winding the thread round reeds stuck in the ground.

It is evident that except for the advanced heddle employed, the looms used in the different areas in Tibet agree very closely. Especially important is the absence of the shuttle and the employment of a ball of threads directly. Treadles are also absent and the beater-in is definitely a separate piece, held in the hand, not suspended in a framework. There is no loom frame either and weaving is performed in a squatting position.[1]

It is therefore evident that the loom did not come from Tibet, but probably from the Indian side. The instruments for spinning also seem to have come from India. In Tibet, the spindle consists of a straight wooden rod, with a notch at the end in which the yarn is caught and terminates at the lower end in a flattened clay whorl.[2] In Nepal, an instrument closely resembling the Indian spinning wheel is used.[3] An iron rod is attached by means of a string to a wheel and revolves with it. The spinner sits on the ground turning the wheel by means of a handle with one hand, and with the other drawing out the cotton into thread.

The fact that weaving and spinning are domestic occupations in Nepal suggests that the present technique cannot be a latter introduction or modification through outside influence of an earlier different method. The strong conservatism displayed by the Newars in cultivation and also in oil pressing has

1 A fairly good picture of this type of loom, without heddles, is given in Ahmad Shah's "Pictures of Tibetan Life," Benares 1906, Plate 16. The sketch referred to is No. 2. The loom represented in No. 3 on the same plate seems to be a recent innovation, probably from India.

2. W.W. Rockhill: Ibid., p. 693.

3. Campbell: Ibid. JASB., 1836.

already been noted. I shall illustrate it from another art, carpentry, in which they excel; they however employ very primitive tools. Planks are cut only with chisel and mallet, and the large saw is unknown.[1] It has therefore to be admitted that the technique of weaving came to Nepal as it is or at least something very similar, which may have evolved into the present apparatus in the country. As regards the spinning wheel it may be said that it is nothing but the ancient distaff combined with a wheel to give it continuous motion. But the knowledge of getting steady motion by a water wheel and its transmission to grinding mills has been known in Nepal and the neighbouring areas for a very long time. The device is said to be employed all over Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkestan.[2] The instrument is called *Kan* by the Newars, but it does not supersede the handmill, which is used almost in every cultivator's house, and is exactly similar to the Indian instrument. It is therefore quite possible that the distaff and the wheel might have been joined together later. It has evidently not, however, travelled to Tibet; this falls in line with the view of their not having come from Tibet.

The agricultural implements also support the view that the characteristic early culture of Nepal came from the Indian side, although not so definitely as does weaving. In Tibet, although terracing and irrigation are employed, the turning up of the soil is done not with the hoe, but by the Indian plough, drawn by a mixed breed of cattle[3] obtained by crossing a male yak with a cow. It may of course be suggested that in India itself, cultivation is done by the plough and hence no conclusion can be drawn from this fact whether the arts came from the Tibetan side or India. This objection is not quite valid. The Baudha Newars have in later times been in far more

1. D. Wright, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, §Nepal.
2. Campbell: *Agricultural implements*, etc., Ibid.
3. S. Turner: An account of an embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet, London, 1800. p. 51 (properly speaking it is of Bhutan that he speaks there); Dutreuil de Rhins and F. Grenard: Ibid., p. 366 etc. Ahmad Shah: *Pictures of Tibetan Life*, Ibid., Plate 23 shows a peasant ploughing with two bullocks(?) as in India, and Plate 27 gives the plough and other implements.

W. Moorcroft: Ibid., Part II, Chap. II.

intimate contract with the Tibetans, who are also of the same religion, while there has been undoubtedly some amount of isolation from Brahmanic India and her culture due to the hostility between rival creeds. If the material arts (including agriculture) had been introduced from the Tibetan side, plough cultivation would certainly have spread from that country to Nepal, unless this art was introduced into Tibet itself under certain special circumstances discussed in a later paragraph.

Evidence from another line supports the view that the early culture of Nepal was not derived from Tibet. In the latter country, although agriculture is the principal occupation of the settled population, yet the chief resource of the country is in its pastures and herds. Necessarily butter has come to constitute a very important element of food. It is also used largely in modelling religious figures and other work.[1] In Nepal, as has been noted, neither dairy-work, nor the employment of cattle for labour is common. The list of principal articles of food of the Newars does not contain any mention of butter (this is to be expected from the scarceness of the cattle) and although argument from silence is not generally justified, the fact that workers in history and ethnology, well aware of the ceremonial importance of butter in India and Tibet, have not noted it, allows such a step in this case.

It may however be suggested that, in Tibet, an earlier culture which was like that in Nepal has been obliterated by a later influence. The evidence available does not favour such a hypothesis. It is evident that the introduction of plough cultivation by a powerful outside influence or immigration would render hoe cultivation practically obsolete. But unless the earlier cultured people were actually exterminated as a result of such later infiuence or immigration, the superior Newar loom would have undoubtedly held its own against the inferior tension loom, nor would the accessory apparatus like the shuttle or spinning wheel have failed to survive. In case of such catastrophic changes in Tibet, the Bauddha Newars would certainly not have been amicably disposed towards the dominant people of Tibet. Evidence from religion, arts and

1. Tsybikoff, Ibid.
Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard, Ibid.

crafts show however that Newar influence has been strongest among the lamas in Tibet, who are recruited from the higher as well as lower classes,[1] although themselves occupying a position above the common people.

Further, in Tibet there is no caste; although there are noblemen and commoners, yet in theory there is no bar to intermarriage between them.[2] It is therefore evident that the population is very homogeneous and it cannot be said that the Newar influence is confined to any particular class of the people who are culturally distinct from the general mass.

§7. It has been suggested that the style of building and architecture in Nepal is derived from China and Tibet.[3] While the Chaityas follow the form of the earlier Buddhistic monuments of India, with some modifications, the characteristic examples of Nepalese temples are in a different style, unlike anything found in India proper, except in the far south, in the Kanara country.[4] This is the so-called pagoda style of architecture. The characteristics of these temples are that—

(i) they are built in several stages, each smaller than the one beneath, with
(ii) sloping roofs and projecting eaves supported by inclined beams;
(iii) they generally rise, not directly from the ground, but from a square terrace.

The lowest stage is the sanctuary and is covered almost invariably with red tiles. The upper storeys are covered with gilded plates of copper.[5] As has been mentioned, the strong resemblance of these temples to the pagodas of China and Japan, in the absence of similar edifices in India proper, has led Hamilton and others to suggest a Chinese origin.

1. Except the lowest, the outcastes: Kawaguchi, Ibid., Chap. LXIII.
2. S.C. Das: *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, Chap. XI.
3. Hamilton: Ibid., pp. 29, 40.
James Fergusson: *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Revised edition, London 1910, Vol. I, pp. 279-80.
Percy Brown: Ibid. p. 136, 145 et seq.
4. Fergusson: Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 76-7.
5. S. Lévi: Ibid., Vol. II, p. 10: Hamilton: Ibid., p. 40 Very good pictures are given in Lévi's as well as Oldfield's books on Nepal.

Lévi, however, claims that these pagodas represent a style of religious architecture which has disappeared in India proper. He suggests that although the buildings are recent, not earlier than the 15th century A.D., yet the architecture reproduces without doubt forms of immemorial antiquity and hints that they might be directly evolved from the early wooden architecture of India which preceded and acted as the model of the most ancient stone monuments of the country. Lèvi has given some evidence from figures on coins and plates in support of this view. The description of the manystoreyed edifice, with roof of copper tiles, in the Chinese annals, supports this hypothesis to some extent; nothing is however mentioned in the annals in detail about the style of architecture.[1]

To explain the resemblance of the Chinese pagodas and Japanese temples Lévi suggests that the parallels are due to Newar influence. He supports his hypothesis with the facts that:

(i) Newars have largely influenced art in China and this is admitted in the annals.
(ii) Newar artisans were widely employed in Tibet, Tartary and many parts of China and this continued up to modern times.[2]

Havell has arrived at the same conclusions from a study of early and mediaeval Indian architecture.[3] He suggests that the so-called pagoda style in Nepal is derived from the āsana type of temple architecture in India. The names of the Indian styles are derived from the figure within, in this case seated in a yoga

1. S. Levi: Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 10-12.

2. The evidence on this point has been mentioned when discussing the arts of Tibet and Nepal. The sources are mainly Huc, Tsybikoff and Kwaguchi. Also Lévi: ibid., Vol. III, pp. 185-9 (Appendix). In this Appendix in Lévi's book a very interesting account is given of the influence of the Newars on Chinese and Tibetan art. In 1260 A.D. the Emperor of China had a golden pagoda raised in Tibet. The artisans employed were all obtained from Nepal and worked under a Newar master-builder. This artist, Arniko, later on went to the chinese court and became the master-builder and statue founder of the Empire. See also Percy Brown: Ibid., p. 154 et seq.

3. E.B. Havell: *The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, London 1915, pp. 120-1.

attitude.[1] The simplest form of it is a plain cubical cell with a flat roof or dome. When the artists sought to give importance to the shrine by additional height, they simply raised the roof by putting cube upon cube like pyramid, and crowned the topmost one with a dome. This Indian style, Havell suggests, was modified in the Himalayan districts (and also the west coast) because of the heavy rainfall. Flat terraced roofs are very inconvenient and they were therefore adapted to the needs of the place, just as in Bengal the local form of thatched house roof and temple done with convex curvature was adapted for the same purpose. Havell adds that this modified type of temple-building passed to China with the Buddhist religion.

It is interesting to note that all the secular edifices of the Newars as well as the characteristic religious temples are in this style.[2] Also, in spite of Hamilton's adverse criticism, the fact remains that the style appeared strikingly similar to Kirkpatrick to the "wooden mundups" of India.[3] From the pictures given in the different books, it must said that a one-storeyed building in the Newar style and a modern *mandap* or ātchālā of India differ very little. The discussion of the ancient Indian forms of mandaps and dwelling houses by Havell certainly strengthens this view.[4]

Whether the pagoda style followed the line of evolution suggested by Havell or not, the balance of evidence is in favour of an Indian origin (in the limited sense of earlier existence) of a prototype of the pagoda style. There has of course been interchange of ideas in this, as in other matters, between China

1. Rām Rāz: *An Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, London, 1834, p. 49.

2. Hamilton: p. 39 et seq.: see also picture in Kirkpatrick, ib., facing p. 160. It may be pointed out that the Gurkhas live mainly in thatched houses of mud-built walls, the chiefs and nobles occupying some of the older Newar palaces. (Hamilton: pp. 209-10).

3. Kirkpatrick: Ibid., p. 159. The mandaps are used in India for village assemblies, open air schools, etc. They are pillared pavilions of wood or thatch generally.

4. Havell: Ibid., pp. 19-24.

Note: As has been pointed out by the upholders of the Chinese origin theory, the similarity with Chinese buildings is also considerable. Compare the picture of a Newar house given by Kirkpatrick and the two religious buildings given in fig. 28 and 29 of Bushell's (S.W.) "Chinese Art" (London 1909), Chap. III.

and Nepal but the architecture would seem to be essentially Indian. Such a conclusion is in harmony with the hypothesis formulated from the other data that the main elements of the characteristic early culture of the Newars came from India. A preponderance of Chinese architectural style in religious as well as secular buildings of Nepal would have involved considerable alterations of the view put forward.

The materials employed in the buildings also point to connection with India and not Tibet, although the evidence is not conclusive. The Newar houses are generally of brick, the roofs always of tile (burnt in kilns). The latter are flat, oblong pieces with two longitudinal grooves, one above and the other below, which fit into adjacent tiles, and are arranged on the sloping roofs in a somewhat slanting way.[1] The tiles are, according to Mukhopādhyay, very similar to the tiles he dug out at Pataliputra, the ancient capital of the Mauryas. Mukhopādhyay adds: "this system of ancient tiling, which I could not understand in Bihar or Tirhut and is not known in British territory, is still in vogue in Nepal—where I believe the lost arts of India are still living in a precarious way."

It may be added that in Tibet the houses are generally made of stones held together with mud. The roof forms a terrace and consists of a thick coat of well beaten clay on a supporting structure of wood.[2] It should however be remembered that fuel is very scarce in Tibet and even if a people from the Chinese side with the knowledge and habit of tile and brick making passed through to Nepal they would probably be compelled in Tibet to take to other methods of building suited to the country.

8. In the description of the characteristics of the immigrant culture was included "hoe cultivation of a special type" and later, in the discussion of the origin of Matsyendranātha, it was explained as irrigated cultivation. The actual method of

1. Hamilton: *Ibid.*, p. 30.
Purnachandra Mukhopādhyay: *Archeological Survey of India*, Vol. XXVI, Part I, Calcutta, 1901, Chap. III, p. 18.
Many details about the tiles and tile making in Nepal are given in the Report.

2. Desgodins: Ibid., pp. 379-81.
Alexander Cunningham: *Ladak*, pp. 313-14, London, 1845.

agricuture in Nepal is to level the land in terraces, with borders of about a foot high to retain the water brought into the fields from streamlets by irrigation channels or accumulated in the rains.[1] It may be objected that while cultivation may be allowed to have been introduced into Nepal by immigrants, stress cannot be laid on details, and that these might have evolved in the country. The existing facts in different parts of India itself, however, stand against this view. There are a number of rude tribes in different parts of India who grow rice, cotton and other such crops for which the Newars use irrigation in cultivating, yet the method adopted is exceedingly primitive. A suitable hillside or plain covered with forest is chosen; the undergrowth is cleared and the smaller trees are cut down. After these have been dried by the heat of the sun in summer, the jungle is fired. After removing the charred logs and debris, the ashes are left undisturbed until the rains set in when the seeds are sown, or more precisely, small holes are made in the soft earth and a mixture of cotton, rice and vegetable seeds put in. No attempt is made to level the ground or irrigate it.[2] Sometimes, indeed, when occasional irrigation is resorted to, as among the Thārus of the Terai, a streamlet is simply dammed up and the fields inundated. No artificial channels are constructed to lead the water under control to the fields.[3] It cannot be said that this mode of cultivation is more paying.[4] The only conclusion that can be drawn is that most of

1. Campbell: *Ibid.* on *Agricultural and Rural Economy of Nepal*, p. 113, et seq.

2. Hodgson: *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I (Trubner), "On the Kochh, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes," p. 142, et seq.

Lewin: *Wild Races of South Eastern India* (London, 1870), pp. 31-39.

H.H. Risley: *Tribes and Castes af Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, Mali Mech, Mal Paharia, etc.

E. Stack and C.J. Lyall: *The Mikirs*, London, 1908, p. 11.

A. Playfair: *The Garos*, London, 1909, p. 34.

C A. Soppitt: *The Kachcha Naga tribe*, Shillong, 1885, Chap. II.

Such references can be further multiplied but are superfluous.

3. Risley: Ibid., Thārus.

4. Lewin indeed suggests, without giving any details, that hillmen earn two rupees by "jhum" cultivation, as this is called, where plainsmen produce only one rupees's profit (ibid). But Hodgson has given (ibid.) details of the expenses and income of hill cultivators following jhum, plough cultivators of the plains and the hoe cultivators of Nepal. He concludes

these tribes possess only the barrest knowledge of the domestication of plants and that evolution has certainly not brought them to irrigated cultivation in flats or terraces. It is not possible, without detailed analysis, to say how much of even this knowledge is the result of observation of the elementary facts of nature by those tribes, and how much is due to residence in the close neighbourhood of more advanced people. This is however outside the scope of this essay. The facts, in any case, definitely prove that an appreciation of the usefulness of rice, cotton, millet and other crops, even when joined with the knowledge that a good rainfall is necessary for their proper growth and maturing, does not suffice to lead to irrigated cultivation. It must of course be admitted that such an evolution must have taken place somewhere in the world. But the soil of Nepal is quite fertile, even as Assam is, and the large number of rivers and rivulets in the valley as well as fairly regular and abundant rainfall ensures a good crop even by primitive modes. It is therefore scarcely likely that the stimulus to improve cultivation should come in Nepal from the conditions of the country. An evolution of terraced cultivation in Nepal from a primitive mode of agriculture without levelling the land or irrigating it has therefore to be rejected. No great importance, however, need be attached to the actual formation of step-like terraces on hillsides or to the use of stone in the ridges built to retain water in the fields. The principal element is systematic irrigation. As the chief crop of Nepal is rice I shall support this statement by facts from the great rice country of India, Bengal. Throughout this great alluvial plain rice is the most common grain cultivated and of the three main varieties grown the most valuable is Rowā. The other important crop is the Amon which is however grown only in the swampy districts, where the plant has to remain in deep water, often 2-8 feet, for several weeks during its growth. All through the plains, where there are not swamps, Rowā is cultivated in small fields surrounded by a bank 4-12 inches high and often at no period of growth more than 6-12 inches in water. But as the hilly country on the border is reached the cultivation, wherever irrigation is syste-

that in spite of their hard work the Bodo and Dhimal produce from a half to a third of the plainsmen and about two-thirds of the Newars.

matically resorted to, is in terraces. From Raj Mahal and Burdwan to Orissa the hills rise gradually and terraced cultivation of Rowā, with definite arrangements for irrigation, is encountered. The banks of the fields are here, as in Bengal, only 6-12 inches high. Similar conditions hold in the Assam valley wherever irrigation is resorted to and the land slopes away gradually. The banks for retaining water in the fields, as well as the channels for irrigation, employed in the plains of Bengal are mudworks; in the hills stone presumably enters into their composition, although not always mentioned.[1]

It has therefore to be admitted that the real characteristic of the cultivation introduced into Nepal by the immigrants was systematic irrigation. This method requires: (i) that the field is level, (ii) that there is a bank round it to retain the water supplied, (iii) that there are irrigation channels, dams, etc., to supply the different fields adequately with water. Given this knowledge, agriculture will assume in a gently rising hilly country the form it has assumed in Nepal, Chota Nagpur, Assam and elsewhere as indicated.

§9. The third rank of the Bauddhamārgis have already been mentioned as showing very strongly the influence of another culture, Brahmanism, which has been getting stronger every day

1. C.B. Clarke: *The Cultivation af Rice in Bengal*, pp. 289-91, in the Bulletin of Miscellaneous information, Royal Kew Gardens, London, December, 1888.

S.C. Roy: *The Oraons*, Ranchi, 1915, p. 119 et seq.

The Mundas, Calcutta, 1912, p. 388, et seq.

J. Campbell: *A personal Narrative of thirteen years of service amongst the wild tribes of Khondistan*, London, 1864, Chap. IV.

C.R. Assam: 1911, p. 141, et seq. Rabha.

J.H. Hutton: *Angami Nagas*, London, 111, p. 72.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Loohoopa, No. LXXVII, Calcutta, 1870.

The case of the Khasis is somewhat different. They are said to irrigate only the flat bottoms of the valleys but are said to be ignorant of terrace cultivation at the present time. A Jaintia vlllage is however mentioned as having attempted to form terraces with some success. The point requires careful investigation. See J.H. Hutton: *The Sema Nagas*, p. 393, London 1921.

Note:—Professor Radhakamal Mukherji (of the Lucknow University) who recently visited the Khasi Hills informs me that Hutton is not quite correct in his statement about the Khasis. July, 1923.

in Nepal during the last century and a half, under the Gurkha rule with its discouragement of Buddhism. It however had its influence in Nepal even in early times when Budduist kings ruled, and must have increased in power under the Hindu Newar kings.

The fact that with the exception of priests, warriors and court officials there are scarcely any other Hindu Newars, suggests that the Sivamārgi group was formed as the result of a political conquest. Tradition narrates that the conquest of Nepal by authentic Brahmanic kings was not at all vigorously opposed, and the fact that shortly after Banrās are found considered as the peers of Brahmans shows that the process was not a bitter struggle like the Gurkha invasion and conquest of Nepal, resulting in the imposition of strict Brahmanic rules and ideas. It seems to have been a gradual growth, the culmination merely finding expression in a definitely Brahmanic rule.

The fact that in the matter of food and drink and also in certain special ceremonies connected with marriage, there is a strong resemblance all through the social organization of the Newars-Buddha as well as Śaiva and that the two groups have been on good terms, raising no bars of purity and impurity, while agreeing with the conclusions drawn in the preceding paragraph in addition show definitely that in ordinary social life there were no sharp differences between the two immigrant cultures.

It has already been pointed out that excepting cowherds and blacksmiths there are no other Newar artisans who were, until Gurkha dominance, appreciably influenced by Brahmanic ideas. This indicates that the material culture of the Brahmanic people who influenced Nepal (as discussed above) was not strikingly superior to the earlier culture in Nepal. The fact that the influence of these Brahmanic people was confined chiefly to only a few other groups in only the lowest strata (excluding outcastes) in Bauddha society suggests a similar inference as regards the two civilizations in general.

It may however be objected that there need not have been any actual Brahamanic invasion, merely a cultural influence. It may be suggested that the prestige of Brahmanic civilization has often led royal families of different faith, in outlying portions of India, to enter the fold of that religion, while the

matically resorted to, is in terraces. From Raj Mahal and Burdwan to Orissa the hills rise gradually and terraced cultivation of Rowā, with definite arrangements for irrigation, is encountered. The banks of the fields are here, as in Bengal, only 6-12 inches high. Similar conditions hold in the Assam valley wherever irrigation is resorted to and the land slopes away gradually. The banks for retaining water in the fields, as well as the channels for irrigation, employed in the plains of Bengal are mudworks; in the hills stone presumably enters into their composition, although not always mentioned.[1]

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J.H. Hutton: *Angami Nagas*, London, 111, p. 72.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Loohoopa, No. LXXVII, Calcutta, 1870.

The case of the Khasis is somewhat different. They are said to irrigate only the flat bottoms of the valleys but are said to be ignorant of terrace cultivation at the present time. A Jaintia village is however mentioned as having attempted to form terraces with some success. The point requires careful investigation. See J.H. Hutton: *The Sema Nagas*, p. 393, London 1921.

Note:—Professor Radhakamal Mukherji (of the Lucknow University) who recently visited the Khasi Hills informs me that Hutton is not quite correct in his statement about the Khasis. July, 1923.

in Nepal during the last century and a half, under the Gurkha rule with its discouragement of Buddhism. It however had its influence in Nepal even in early times when Budduist kings ruled, and must have increased in power under the Hindu Newar kings.

The fact that with the exception of priests, warriors and court officials there are scarcely any other Hindu Newars, suggests that the Sivamārgi group was formed as the result of a political conquest. Tradition narrates that the conquest of Nepal by authentic Brahmanic kings was not at all vigorously opposed, and the fact that shortly after Banrās are found considered as the peers of Brahmans shows that the process was not a bitter struggle like the Gurkha invasion and conquest of Nepal, resulting in the imposition of strict Brahmanic rules and ideas. It seems to have been a gradual growth, the culmination merely finding expression in a definitely Brahmanic rule.

The fact that in the matter of food and drink and also in certain special ceremonies connected with marriage, there is a strong resemblance all through the social organization of the Newars-Buddha as well as Śaiva and that the two groups have been on good terms, raising no bars of purity and impurity, while agreeing with the conclusions drawn in the preceding paragraph in addition show definitely that in ordinary social life there were no sharp differences between the two immigrant cultures.

It has already been pointed out that excepting cowherds and blacksmiths there are no other Newar artisans who were, until Gurkha dominance, appreciably influenced by Brahmanic ideas. This indicates that the material culture of the Brahmanic people who influenced Nepal (as discussed above) was not strikingly superior to the earlier culture in Nepal. The fact that the influence of these Brahmanic people was confined chiefly to only a few other groups in only the lowest strata (excluding outcastes) in Bauddha society suggests a similar inference as regards the two civilizations in general.

It may however be objected that there need not have been any actual Brahamanic invasion, merely a cultural influence. It may be suggested that the prestige of Brahmanic civilization has often led royal families of different faith, in outlying portions of India, to enter the fold of that religion, while the

general mass of the people have remained faithful to their older beliefs and deities.[1] But, as has been pointed out in the section on culture contact, such an evolution is not likely in the case of a people of advanced civilization. The difference in culture between Bauddha Newars and Brahmanic invaders from the plains cannot be considered sufficiently large for such a development. It is of course possible that after Brahmanic rule had existed for some time the influence of the religious and social ideas, especially if not conflicting seriously with the earlier conditions, may have spread to a certain extent. Tradition ascribes the most authoritative code of Hindu castes and customs in Newar society to the activity of a Brahmanic Newar king of native origin. It therefore seems as if the Brahmanic incomers were finally assimilated into Newar society, accompanied by intermarriage with some of the earlier people. Such a view agrees with the known facts of the religious views of the Hindu Newar kings, and is in harmony with the fact that for a good many of the groups considered as having originated from this Brahmanic invasion of Nepal, certain rites are performed by the priests of the older people. I shall now consider some of these groups.

It has been pointed out in the summary of the existing social conditions among the Newars that besides the blacksmiths and cowherds there are four castes which show a more intimate connection with the Brahmanic group than any members of the third grade of Bauddhamārgis. These four all agree in one matter, namely that they are all functionaries for fulfilling religious needs of some kind or other. This suggests a reason why they show greater intimacy with Brahmanic ideas than the sections of the third grade of Bauddhamārgis. It is evident that if there were certain common beliefs in the two cultures and if, due to some amount of intermixture and amicable contact as inferred above, interchange of ideas took place,

1. The Koch, Ahom and Meitheis have already been cited as examples of conversion. A very good example of conversion of the royal families only but not of the people is furnished by the Jaintia kings. These latter have indeed been so much Hinduised and accepted as such that their descendants marry freely in high class Hindu society in Assam: E.A. Gait: *A history of Assam*, ibid.; R.B. Pemberton: *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, p. 219, Calcutta, 1835.

the people associated with the functions originating from these religious beliefs would come into intimate contact with both people. Such groups would in fact show the influence of both cultures and fulfil their duties for the one division as well as for the other. It is also possible that two similar ideas of the two cultures may become combined and call into existence a special section of the people to fulfil a special need not previously existing.

While all these processes might not develop to an appreciable extent in the case of the important and dominant groups of priests of both cultures the effect will certainly be perceptible in the case of the functionaries of humble position.

Therefore on this view the Kāthā and Nou will have been more intimately connected with both cultures because of the religious and magical importance of the umbilical cord and the ceremonial shavings, and paring of the nails. The Bhāt has similarly been influenced because of the special religious belief about death that finds expression in certain funeral rites. The case of the Tāti is similar; they do not weave common cloth, but prepare only a special kind of stuff called *ponga*, used in ceremonies of initiation into Buddhism, in funerals, and the worship of Matsyendranātha. The fact that all four castes serve Hindu as well as Bauddha Newars of all grades (except outcastes) supports this explanation of their leanings towards Brahmanism as well as Buddhism.

The case of blacksmiths and cowherds is different; the above line of reasoning does not hold in their case. It is however evident that people who conquer a country must have their own arsenals and munition workers. The chief material for weapons in those days was certainly metal, and evidently of these the best is iron. The Brahmanic invaders would therefore have had a blacksmith group of their own to supply their needs, just as in a later invasion Gurkha smiths came with the warriors. The fact that these iron workers were largely assimilated in Bauddha society may be simply a parrallel to what happened to the immigrants in general. One thing may be pointed out here. In the case of castes or groups among these later immigrants, standing somewhat low in their social scale, the tendency to mixture with corresponding groups (i.e., in the social strata roughly corresponding to theirs) would probably be greater the

lower down in the social scale they were. For in the absence of hostility, a caste suffering a good deal of social humiliation in the one society would tend to be more receptive to the ideas and practices in the other, if the disabilities were appreciably less in that group. I have thought it necessary to add this note as in the case of the remaining group, the cowherds, the effects of Bauddha influence seem to have been much less appreciable. In the absence of detailed knowledge about these groups, this point cannot however be followed up any further. I shall therefore proceed to the discussion of the cowherds.

It has already been noted that this group has definitely Brahman priests. If however it is admitted that the breeding of cattle and dairy work came to Nepal with a Brahmanic culture, it remains to explain the absence of the employment of cattle in plough cultivation or in any other work, until the Gurkha conquest. Buffaloes were certainly valued for milk and meat but not as beasts of burden or agricultural animals. If the Brahmanic people who introduced the profession of cowherds to Nepal had been practising plough cultivation with cattle in India and in general had been using them for other work, their employment for these purposes would assuredly have come into Nepal during the long centuries of their dominance, at least among the Hindu Newars. But the definitely Hindu Achārs as well as the semi-Hinduised Jyapoos equally use the hoe and not the plough. It has therefore to be concluded that these Brahmanic people at the time they entered Nepal either were ignorant of, or had a strong prejudice against, the employment of plough cultivation and employment of cattle for other work also in general.

Plough cultivation is not however unknown in Nepal; as a matter of fact it has been gaining ground in recent times. Its restriction to the Parbatiyas and the Brahmans of the Gurkhas definitely points to its introduction in Nepal through comparatively recent influences (not necessarily dating back only to the actual conquest in 1769). It is further evident that this influence is also Brahmanic. We have therefore to conclude that the Brahmanic influence which affected the Newars quite early, finding its definite expression much later under the Hindu Malla Kings, was different in culture from the Brahmanic civilization that affected the Gurkhas, in this point at least. For if

the early Brahmanic people had themselves developed (in case of ignorance) this technique of plough cultivation in the plains, or discarded their prejudices of their own accord (which is highly doubtful), it would have crept into Nepal among the Hindu Newars who were certainly in touch with their southern neighburs.

Very wide questions are raised by these inferences about the history of culture in the Indian plains. These however fall outside the scope of this essay and can be dealt with only in an analysis of Indian culture history as a whole.[1]

1. In view of the deep-seated and complicated nature of the culture of the plains of India, it is preferable to analyse first the less complex cultures of the outlying areas of the country and of the primitive people in its different parts, I hope to tackle the wider problem after my analysis of primitive cultures in the Assam Hills and Chota Nagpore has been completed.

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पुस्तकालय

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APPENDIX A

There are four different lists of Śivamārgi or Hindu Newars. The earliest, that of Hamilton[1] is given in the form of a description of the castes and the three others in more or less tabular form. These are the lists of Hodgson,[2] Oldfield[3] and Earle.[4] In the table attached to this appendix, I have arranged the different accounts side by side, as far as possible. Hodgson and Oldfield both mention the division of the Hindu Newars into Brahmans, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas—the list of Oldfield showing also a fourth, the Śūdras. Earle merely gives tables of high castes, intermediate castes and low castes. I have included for comparison all his high castes; the intermediate castes find their parallel elsewhere.

The Brahmans of the highest class, the Upādhyāyas are mentioned by all of them except Hamilton, who states something contradicting the version of the others. As however the caste of high class Brahmans occurs also in older historical lists (see App. E), the high position of the Brahmans cannot be considered as of very recent origin, i.e. after the Gurkha conquest. As we shall see, the Achārs seem to be the priests of all the minor local deities and the Brahmans restricted to the greater ceremonies. Hamilton's statement would seem to indicate that for all practical purposes the Newar Achārs are the high priests. His account of the castes of Nepal, as a whole, is not very

1. Hamilton: Ibid., p. 29, et seq.

2. Manuscript Volume entitled "Ethnography" in the India Office Library.

3. Oldfield: Ibid., Chap. XIV (followed by Sylvain Lévi in his book on Nepal) Lévi has merely followed Oldfield in this matter. In a footnote he explains that he had no time to undertake a personal investigation of the caste system during his short stay in Nepal, but that he had supplemented or corrected it to what extent was possible.

See page 238, etc. of Lévi; Ibid.

4. Census of India 1901, Bengal, Part I, p. 454, etc. Mr. Gait the writer of the report explains that he expunged Buddhist castes from the list.

correct and shows that he could not have derived his knowledge from a fairly good acquaintance with the people. As his source of information was not at all good, it is quite likely he overlooked the part played by high class Brahmans in the life of the Newar Hindu.

The two other Brahmanic castes mentioned by Oldfield are not found in any other lists, unless indeed the Karmāchārya and Lawarju are held to be the same. As has been said, Earle does not class the castes under headings of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya etc. It is therefore difficult to say if the Karmāchārya is a Brahman priest or not. In Nepal among Newars the mere fact of being a priest evidently does not constitute any claim to being a Brahman. The word Karmacharj, which is the same as the more Sanskritic form of Earle, however, occurs in the list given by Hodgson, said to be derived from the old rules of Jayasthiti Malla (see App. E); the functions performed by them are similar to those of Achārs and they seem to be the same people. I am therefore inclined to consider Earle's Karmārchārya as only a particular section of Achārs, with a more dignified Sanskritic name. The Lawarju of Oldfield may or may not exist; it may be that certain of the Brahmans who are gurus to lower classes enjoy a lesser degree of sanctity, as is paralleled in the plains of India. The point is not however important.

The caste Bhaju also does not occur anywhere else; a caste of Baidya or Dhanwantar is however mentioned by Hodgson in his historical list mentioned above, and their functions are exactly the same—to give merely last unction at the extreme, but not medicine. At the present time however no such caste of physicians exists. From the nature of the function of this caste—the performance of religious duty—it would seem as if the Bhajus are merely a section of Brahmans who have become somewhat differentiated by taking up an occupation which a high class Upādhyāya—if he has ideas similar to the Brahmans of the plains—considers to be beneath his dignity. Their absence from Hodgson's account of the conditions in Nepal at his time, coupled with his mention of the Brahmans as professing to practise as physicians, seems to indicate that the differentiation must have been very slight.

Another possibility may just be pointed out. The Achār and Gaoku Achār have functions similar to those of the Bhaju

and Lawarju of Oldfield, and in addition are very like a class of inferior Brahmans in other ways. If a foreigner were to collect information from people of these castes, it is possible that on the strength of their evidence he might class them as an inferior class of Brahmans. This is however a mere suggestion and the general correctness of Oldfield's list stands in the way of such a view.

Of the three Kṣatrıya castes mentioned by Oldfield, two occur in Earle's and only one in Hamilton's list. Hodgson gives two of these as main castes, and the third as a division—not a sub-caste—of Sreṣṭha.

The Thacur or Malla, variously spelt in the lists, may be accepted as ranking with Kṣatriyas, although no question of origin is raised thereby. They are known to have been the rulers of Nepal before the Gurkhas and ranked as Kṣatriyas.

The Śreṣṭhas are not mentioned by Hodgson or Earle as Kṣatriyas, but merely as a pure caste of high rank. As they were the warriors in the time of the Hindu Newar rulers, before the Gurkha Conquest, they may be included under this head. The footnote to the Census Report containing Earle's list makes their rank as Kṣatriyas fairly clear. It may be noted in passing that the traditional origin of Śreṣṭhas given by Hodgson agrees in substance with the account given in the Census Report and finds an extremely good parallel in the origin of the Khas, the military Gurkha tribe, formed of the offspring of Brahman (and Rajput) fathers and Parbatiya mothers. These tribes have the rank of Kṣatriyas.[1]

In the table at the end of the appendix, I have given only a few of the divisions of the Śreṣṭha mentioned by Hodgson. Some of these are mere subdivisions, but the majority of them seem to be true to be true sub-castes, differentiated by descent, and to some extent, by occupation. Generally speaking, however, this second point is not important. The reason for giving only the few divisions finding their parallel in the lists of other authorities is that there is no special peculiarity about most of

1. Hodgson: Essays on Languages, etc., Part II, p. 37—

Strictly speaking, Khetris, i.e. offspring of Kṣatriyas by women of lower castes, and the Kṣatriyas, are different; and Śreṣṭhas rank as Khetris. But in practice the Khas, the parallel of Śreṣṭhas, rank as Kṣatriyas, although beneath an admittedly pure Rajput.

the remaining divisions. Cultivation, trade, porter's work and similar general occupations are followed by them. There are also mentioned an Achārya, a Joshi and a Vaidya or physician group among them. While it will be easy to speculate about them, it is safer not to discuss these subcastes until further information is forthcoming about them.

About the occupation of Śreṣthas Oldfield has merely mentioned that they act as sepoys. Hamilton as well as Hodgson however agree that the members of this caste follow various occupations, some of which are more dignified than others. I am inclined to think that in this case, as well as in the case of the Mallas, Oldfield has put down the traditional occupation rather than the actual profession followed at the present time. Under the rule of the Gurkhas who treat the Newars more as a homogeneous nation, than a group of various castes and other subdivisions, traditional views, customs and differences are breaking up.

The Nikhu of Oldfield are evidently the same as the Nikojoo of Hodgson. The details given about their functions leave no doubt of it. As in the case of many other Śreṣtha divisions, they are partly Hindu and partly Bauddha in their manners and customs. They are said by Oldfield to have formerly been Buddhists, and converted to Hinduism in recent times. The functions they used to perform formerly at Matsyendrayātrā are still done by them, although with certain restrictions.

Of the Vaiśyas mentioned by Oldfield, the Achār are found in all the other lists. It is true that Earle mentions Karmāchārya, not Achār, but as we have seen, they seem to be merely a section of Achārs with a special name for somewhat restricted functions. Hamiltion's statement about Achārs has already been discussed. Here it is sufficient to add that Lévi in his comment on Āchāryas, in his historical list, mentions that they are the Brahmans of the Hinduised Newars. Hodgson and Oldfield however both agree that they rank as Vaiśyas,[1] and Lévi has accepted Oldfield's classification. So, whatever their functions may be, the Achārs definitely rank or are classed as, Vaiśyas in Nepal.

1. Hodgson however adds, after classing Achārs and Joshis as Vaiśyas, that they are regarded more as Śreṣthas. The true Vaiśya according to him are the Thacoju, for whom see later on.

I have placed the Jausis of Hamilton along with the Joshi or Jotshi of the others as Lévi definitely mentions that the latter are the same as Jaisis described by him when discussing the historical list. These Jaisis are however the same as Hamilton's Jaisis. Neither Hodgson, nor Oldfield anywhere treat of these Jaisis, who are according to Lévi's as well as Hamilton's account quite an important group. It is hardly likely that they could have been overlooked by both of these good observers. With the exception of Earle, they all assign priestly functions to this group, and the exception is merely apparent. It merely adds another detail to the description.

I may seem to have taken much trouble to prove that all the four authorities are describing the same group under slightly difierent names, when similarity of names might be considerd as sufficient; but the name Jaisi is so freely applied in Nepal to quite different groups that in this case at least, definite agreement in all details is necessary before identity of caste can be inferred.

The Bhanni of Oldfield are evidently the same as the Bhanil or Bhanni of Hodgson's Śreṣṭha group. The identity of name and the connection of both with the Taleju temple leave no room for doubt.

In this case as well as that of Nikojoo, I am following Hodgson as the better observer of the two and also as having a more intimate knowledge of Nepal and the Nepalese. The fact that Nikojoos and Śreṣṭhas intermarry and eat together shows that they are sections of the same caste or sub-caste. Consequently Oldfield's classification of Nikhus as Kṣatriyas is not a mistake, although superfluous. In the case of the Bhanni, the fact that they are cooks and stewards of the Taleju temple, where the priests are Vaiśyas might have led Oldfield to classifying them with Joshis and Achārs, on account of the fact that in Indian temples the cooks are generally of the same caste as the priests, although they might belong to the same caste as the priests, although they might belong to different sub-castes. Further, according to Hodgson, the line between Vaiśyas like Joshi and Achār, and Śreṣṭhas is not quite sharp. Consequently such a classification of the Bhanni is hardly an error.

The Gaoku or Gulcul Achār of Oldfield and Lévi are not mentioned by Hodgson, but Hamilton's description of them

clearly agrees with that of Oldfield. Unless indeed Oldfield merely borrowed it from Hamilton, this assures the authenticity of the description. The presence of greater details in Oldfield's description shows that he must have obtained fresh information about the caste; consequently the caste must have existed in his time and the two accounts are therefore of value as independent sources. The absence of the caste from Hodgson's list is not a serious difficulty. In the case of the Vaiśyas, Hodgson's descriptions are not so clear as elsewhere, and he seems to be definitely inaccurate about one caste. The Thacoju group of Vaiśyas mentioned by him are evidently the descendants of the Vais or Vaiśya Thakuris of Nepal. Their rank was however of Kṣatriyas.[1] Hodgson's confusion of these Thakuris with Vaiśyas, is probably due to the fact that trade is followed by them as an occupation, instead of fighting, which is their proper profession, while the first part of their name Vaiśya Thakuri is that of the third caste of the Brahmanic Śāstras, whose hereditary work is agriculture and trade. The absence of this group from any other list must in view of the above fact, lead to the rejection of Hodgson's statement on this point.

It has already been said that the absence of the Gulcul Achār from Hodgson's list is not a serious difficulty. One fact may however be mentioned in this connection. In Hodgson's description of the Jyapoo sections, there is a Ghukoo subdivision, who follow the same occupation as the Gaukaus, described by Oldfield, among the heterodox Buddhists (App. D), and the two groups are evidently one and the same. Hodgson has however mentioned that the Ghukoos are, in addition, burners of the dead of Banrās, Udas and Jyapoos. It seems to suggest some connection between the Gulcul Achārs or Gaoku Achārs, and the Gaokus. The former are however Hindus and the latter mixed Buddhists, and in the absence of further information, it is best to agree with Oldfield and Hodgson that the Gaokaus are members of the third group of Bauddhamārgis, not connected with the Hindu Achārs.

The Tiniacha of Earle are simply described as priests officiating at death ceremonies. They are evidently not the counterpart of those Brahmans of the plains who take death gifts,

1. S. Lévi: Ibid., pp. 154-5. D. Wright: Ibid., Chap. III.

as these form a separate class in Nepal, the Bhāt; they are mentioned by Earle among his intermediate castes. Officiating at death ceremonies may mean either at the actual funeral ceremonies or some such functions as that performed by the Gaoku Achār. In the former case, they would scarcely be ranked among *high* castes (in Earle's list). This is of course said from the experience of the position of castes in the plains; but the purity and impurity of castes among Hindu Newars does not show any marked divergence from that in the plains, except in the greater simplicity of its character. I am therefore inclined to consider the Tiniacha as probably the same as Gulcul Achār, and not a separate caste.

The Śūdras of Oldfield are all domestic servants of different kinds. They are not however mentioned by the others, except the Bagho Shashu, who seem to be the same as Bago Srisht of Hodgson. "Sheashu" does not differ much from Shashu, and it is a known variant of Srisht or Śreṣṭha. It will be remembered that their name signifies only "half a Śreṣṭha" and that although their water can be taken, Hodgson makes it clear that the other Śreṣṭhas do not take cooked food from them. This agrees with Oldfield's statement. As domestic servants must exist and be of pure caste, such a group as the Śūdras of Oldfield must be in existence in Nepal as it is elsewhere in India, wherever the idea of purity and impurity of caste holds its sway. Such a caste or group of castes, serving the three other varṇas is from the definition given in the Śāstras, considered as Śūdra. Hence Oldfield's classification of this group need not be questioned, although not corroborated by any other authority.

The Jyapoo of Earle are discussed elsewhere, as they belong more properly to the group of Bauddhamārgis than Śaivas (See App. D).

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Upādhyāya	Brahmans; priests of the highest castes	Upādhyāya or Juju, or Devabhaju or Devabrahmana.	Brahmans, performing the religious sacrifices and rites of the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sivamārgī Śreṣṭhas. They also profess to be astrologers and physicians.
Lawarju	Brahmans and priests but inferior to Upādhyāyas. They act as gurus to the lower classes.	...	...
Bhaju	Brahmans; in case of sickness they give spiritual, but never medical, advice.	...	...
Thakur or Malla	Kṣatriyas of the original royal caste, i.e. the Newar kings. Some are now sepoys in the Gurkha army, but do not enter trade or private service.	Thacor, also called Layeju, Thacuri, or Kuwar.	Kṣatriyas, formerly rulers of the country but are now traders, shop-keepers, etc.

EARLE'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Devabhaju	Brahman and spiritual teacher.	...	They do not employ Brahmans as priests. See below under Achār.
...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...
Sūryavanśi Mull.	Royal family of the Newars.	...	..

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Nīkhu	Kṣatriyas; they were formerly Buddhists and had to paint the figure, etc. of Matsyendranātha, bathe him and perform other similar functions at the Matsyendra Yātrā. They do this even now, although with certain restrictions.	Srisht, Sestha or Bharo.	This caste includes under it some subdivisions and subcastes, which are Varṇa Śaṅkara, i.e. of mixed descent. There are fourteen of these, including the Srisht Proper. The origin of these is ascribed to various unions of Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, with their own as well as other women, and their intercrossings. Some can wear the thread, others not. Generally they are cultivators and traders.

EARLE'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Devabhaju	Brahman and spiritual teacher.	...	They do not employ Brahmans as priests. See below under Achār.
...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...
Sūryavanśi Mull.	Royal family of the Newars.	...	..

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Nīkhu	Kṣatriyas; they were formerly Buddhists and had to paint the figure, etc. of Matsyendranātha, bathe him and perform other similar functions at the Matsyendra Yātrā. They do this even now, although with certain restrictions.	Srisht, Sestha or Bharo.	This caste includes under it some subdivisions and subcastes, which are Varṇa Śaṅkara, i.e. of mixed descent. There are fourteen of these, including the Srisht Proper. The origin of these is ascribed to various unions of Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, with their own as well as other women, and their intercrossings. Some can wear the thread, others not. Generally they are cultivators and traders.

EARLE'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Śreṣṭha	Ministers and other officials. According to a footnote, at the present time the off-spring of Brahmans and low caste women among the Newars, except the out-castes as Kami and Damai, are called Khatri and rank with the Śreṣṭhas.	Śreṣṭha	They form a small caste ranking below Achārs and Jausis, who can however act as cooks to all Newars, Achārs and Bangras excepted. The Buddhists and Śivaites of this caste eat together, but a woman for her first paramour (Hamilton thus describes their marriage) always chooses a person of her own persuasion. The highest rank, the Siras, are mostly traders. A lower class, the Sual, act as porters while a still lower, the Bagul, are agriculturists. All however eat together and can intermarry.

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Sheashu, Sherista.	Kṣatriyas, these two classes intermarry and eat together. They act as sepoys.	Subcastes of Śreṣtha	Some of these groups are described in detail as they correspond to Oldfield's groups. These are:
		The Srisht Proper.	Cultivators, artisans and traders. Some worship Śiva, others Buddha. Priests are Brahmans, Banrās and Achārs. They do not marry or eat with any other group of this caste except the Nikojoo.
		Nikojoo.	They are agriculturists, traders, etc. and rank last among the Śreṣṭhas. In

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
			addition to trade, etc., they paint the images of the deities such as Montee Lokeshwar, Jatadharee Lokeshwur, etc., and wash them with panchāmrita, a mixture of milk, sour milk, ghee, honey and sugar. They have Banrās as well as Brahmans for guru and purohit.
		Bago-Srisht	Means half-Srisht. They are cultivators, traders, etc. None of the Śreṣṭhas take cooked food from them, although they accept it from the others. Chidā and water are however taken from them.
		Bhani or Bhanil	Literally means a steward. Their ancestor is said to have come with Harisiṁha Deva as steward of the

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
			Temple of Taleju. They are still in that office. Brahmans and Banarās are priests. In most cases Brahmans perform the auspicious rites and Banrās the funeral rites.
Josi	Vaiśyas; although not Brahmans it is their duty to expound the Śāstra. They however do not act as priests.	Jotshi	Vaiśyas; they wear the sacred thread.
Achār	Vaiśyas; they are priests of the Taleju temples of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. They are not Brahmans.	Achār	Vaiśyas; they were the sacred thread
		Thacoju, Thacu or Thacut	Vaiśyas; they are at present tradesmen and shopkeepers. They are said to be descended from the ancient Vaiśya kings of Nepal.
Bhanni	Vaisyas; cooks of the gods of the Taleju temples.		

It is not clear about Nikojoo.

EARLE'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Joshi	Astrologer	Jausi	They are descended of a Brahman father and Newar mother, and are the only caste that ought to practise medicine. If their mother had been a Bangra or Achār, they wear the thread and act as priests and instructors to other Jausis.
Karmāchārya	Officiating priest.	Achār	They wear the sacred thread and are considered as the highest caste. They are the priests in the temples of Śiva and Śakti, but do not kill the animals offered themselves.

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Gaoku or Gulcul Achār	Vaiśyas; priests for small temples only; they superintend at such temples, the rites connected with death. They have nothing to do with the actual funeral ceremonies, but merely remove the sins of the dead.		Of the three Vaiśya castes all of whom wear the sacred thread, the Thacoju are the purest and the two others are more Srisht than Vaiśyas. There is in addition another less pure section of Vaiśyas who do not wear the thread.
Mukhi	Śūdra, ordinary cook and table attendant.		
Lakhipar	Śūdra, of inferior rank. All the preceding classes of Hindus eat from their hand.		
Bagho Shashu	Domestic servants; they can do all other work except cooking.		

EARLE'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Tiniacha	Priest officiating at death ceremonies.	Gulcul Achār	These are Achārs of inferior rank, who cannot intermarry with the superior Achārs. Some of them perform the ceremony necessary to free from sin the soul of those who have died on certain unfortunate days.
Japu	Cultivators		Poor Achārs cultivate with their own hand using the hoe. Their women spin and weave, this being the only point in which they seem to differ from Brahmans.

APPENDIX B

The Bandyas, or Banrās, were formerly celibate monks. In his essays[1] Hodgson mentions that according to early Buddhistic literature, the Bandyas were divided into four classes, the Arhan, Bhikshu, Śrāvaka and Chailaka, all ascetics, differentiated only by different degrees of austerities practised and holiness attained. In later literature a fifth division, the Vajra Āchārya, is mentioned who is a family man. Hodgson's informant a Gubhaju admitted that this division was of later origin. According to him there are two orders of Banrās, the recluse Bhikshu and the married worldly Vajra Āchārya.[2] The lists given by Hodgson,[3] Oldfield[4] and others however show greater diversity. The information collected from Hodgson, Oldfield and Lévi, Hamilton,[5] and the Census Report for 1901[6] already quoted, has been put in a tabular form for comparison. I have not added Kirkpatrick's erroneous account of Banrās (spelt by him Bhanra) as he himself remarks that owing to insufficient knowledge he does not wish to give an account of Newar castes.[7]

It is evident from the tables that the class distinctions among the Banrās are merely official, following the professsions, not constituting any bar on commensality or intermarriage. The accounts given of the different divisions do not however always seem consistent. Thus Hodgson gives a list of four divisions of which two, the Sakya Vansi and Chivarbade, do not occur

1. B.H. Hodson: *Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet* page 63 et sq. Revised Edition of 1874, Trubner, London.
2. Hodson: Ibid., page 51-2.
3. Hodson: Ibid,, footnote page 52 and in his manuscript volume entitled "*Ethnography and topography*" in I.O.L.
4. Oldfield: Ibid., Vol. I Chap. XIV; I have included Lévi's slight corrections and additions in this column.
5. Hamilton: Ibid., p. 29.
6. C.R. 1901, Bengal, Part I. The information was furnished by a Gubhaju of Kathmandu who discussed Oldfield's table with Gait.
7. Kirkpatrik, Ibid., pp. 183, 184.

elsewhere as priest. Later on he himself states that the Vajra Āchārya and Bhikshu or Bhikhu are the only priests. The actual condition seems to be that given by the Gubhaju quoted by Gait. The Gubhaju friend of Hodgson and the informant of Gait both agree that there is a section of celibate recluses, who occupy the highest position, although it is clear that these are few in number. Since both were Banrās and of the practically highest order, the Vajra Āchārya, their information about their own class especially in details which must be common knowledge may be accepted as accurate, although no mention is made in the other lists.

All agree that the Gubhaju or Vajra Āchārya is the highest class of priest, Hodgson's informant in fact making it the sole division of Banrās who are not recluses.

The inferior priests variously called Bhikshu, Bikhu or Bikhut seem to have been confused by some of the writers, due to there being the recluse Bhikshus who are called by the Sanskrit term and the goldsmith and priestly Bikhu (evidently the Newari equivalent) who are family men. The origin of Bikhus, given by the Census Report resembles to a certain extent that given by Oldfield. According to the latter, every Gubhaju before attaining manhood, or in practice before he has become a father, must be initiated into the rank of a Vajra Āchārya. If a child is born before that ceremony is performed, he and his descendants from that day are permanently degraded to the rank of Bhikshus (i.e. Bikhu). It seems to me that this is the same as the account given by the Gubhaju, only with certain differences which have crept in, due to laxity or other reasons.

Of the other classes given, the Barraju or Bandeju (=Śākya Vanśi) seem to have no separate existence. Hamilton gives Barrjesu as a synonym for his Bangras who are evidently the same as Banrās, and Hodgson has given Barreju with Bandeju as equivalent of it and the Gubhaju gives both, mentioning that they constitute merely the Banrās, not a separate class. It may therefore be accepted as having been a mistake on the part of Oldfield and Hodgson. The confusion might have arisen very simply. The list of occupations given by Oldfield, Hamilton and Hodgson as followed by Banrās shows that they are engaged in almost all respectable secular pursuits and many have abandoned their religious profession completely. The Vajra Āchārya

and Bikhu differ from them in that they retain their religious functions. Hence it is very probable that this large class of ordinary secular Banrās, although not at all differentiated in social matters from the others, simply return themselves as Banrās, not as Vajra Āchārya or Bikhu. This would very easily lead even a fairly good foreign investigator astray.

There remain only the Chivarbade of Hodgson. In his manuscripts he mentions them as occurring only in Patan, although in the footnote he makes a more general statement that the Banrās are popularly supposed to be divided into the four given classes. However no one else mentions them and he himself makes it clear that, whether the representatives of the former Chailakas or not, they are not priests. He does not definitely mention and does not seem to be sure of what they actually are. One explanation would make them celibates and monks; the other signifies nothing particularly. I do not think they can be identified with the Chivarbharhi of Oldfield, who are said to have taken their occupation at the request of a King of Patan. As Hodgson definitely mentions Chivabadeju or Chivabade only in this town, it may be that this was due to a confusion of Chivabharhi Banrās and the scriptural Chailakas. In any case there does not seem to be any evidence of a priestly Chivabadeju Banrā class anywhere in Nepal.

It should be noted that the only definite hereditary secular profession of Banrās seem to be that of gold and silversmiths, although other professions are resorted to even by Gubhajus, who no more than other Banrās, do restrict themselves to priestly duties.

The Bakali Bangras of Hamilton seem to include Bikhus and the secular Banrās who return themselves probably simply as such. As regards the classes of Oldfield, the evidence seems to indicate that except the Gubhaju, Bhikshu or Bikhu and the ordinary secular Bandyas, all are mere professional names.

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
The orthodox Bandyas are divided into nine classes, the duties of which are strictly hereditary:	All nine classes however eat together and intermarry, but not with Udas or others. The difference of rank is merely of an official character.	Bangra or Barrjesu	They are the heads of the Buddhist Newars and much more numerous than Achārs. They are divided into Gubal Bangras and Bakali Bangras.
(1) Gubharju	To this class belong the priests of the highest class called Vajra Āchārya. They are not however limited to priestly duties.	Gubal Bangra	These are the guru and purohit and when they perform a ceremony, they wear a thread like the Brahmans or Achāra. They do not eat or intermarry with any of inferior rank.
(2) Barrhaju (3) Bikhu, (4) Bhikshu (5) Nebhar	These four are all gold and silversmiths, making however only ornaments. The Bhikshu have the hereditary profession of gold and silversmith, but many of them exercise a priestly function of an inferior sort.	Bakali Bangra	They work in gold, silver and copper and engage in trade and cultivation.

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
(6) Nebharbharhi	Workers in brass and tin, making metal images of gods and tinning metal dishes.		
(7) Tankarmi	Maker of guns and cannons in iron.		
(8) Gangsabharhi	Carpenters, workers in wood, plasterers, etc. According to Lévi, the Bahdyas took to carpentry only in the 17th century at the request of Siddhi Narasṁha of Patan.		
(9) Chivarbharhi			

HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	CENSUS REPORT 1901
According to the manuscript, the Banras of Kathmandu and Bhatgaon are divided into three orders, the different terms in Sanskrit and Newari being Vajra Āchārya or in Newari Gubhaju, Sakya Vansa, Sakya Bhikshu or in Newari Gubhaju Bandeju and Barreju Bhikshu or in Newari Gubhaju Bikut. In Patan a fourth] class, the Chailaka or Chibhabadeju are said to exist. The Banrās follow different vocations as coppersmiths, stone workers and are called Kāsā Lohangkarmi and so on; but these are merely occupational terms and constitute no bar to commensality or intermarriage.	The Highest rank among Banrās is that of the Bhikshuk, who is a recluse and celibate. If a Bhikshuk breaks his vows and has a family, his children fall to the rank assigned by Oldfield to Bhikshu. They are then called Bikhu.
In the footnote, Hodgson enumerates four divisions; the Vajra Āchārya, Sakya Vansi, Bhikshu of Bikhu, and the Chailaka or Chivabare. The last are said to derive their name from living in a Vihara in which there is a Chaitya, vulgarly called Chiva, in its midst. Alternatively, the name is said to be corruption of Chailaka	Banhrā is derived from the Sanskrit word Bandya, and the terms Bandeju or Barrhaju are merely synonyms: they do not form a separate class. Nebharbharhi, Gangsabharhi, Chiwarbharhi are all terms indicating professions, which may be (and are, followed by any caste and not only by the Banhrās.

HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	CENSUS REPORT 1961
Bandya Potius, i.e. Bandyas wearing Chivara, a part of the monastic dress, a sense which would make them signify adhering to their monastic vows. Later on, in his essay, Hodgson adds (pp. 63-64), the superior ministry of religion is in the hands of Vajra-Āchāryas and the inferior Ministry of Bhikshus and these are hereditary. They are the priests of non-Bandyas as well as Bandyas. Those Bandyas who have abandoned the profession of religion follow different secular professions, but this constitutes no bar to intermarriage or commensality.	

APPENDIX C

Two lists are available of the classes of the Udas, one from Oldfield,[1] another from Hodgson's manuscript.[2] These have been put in a tabular form for comparison. Hamilton does not contribute anything to the subject; he merely mentions that they were origina lly all traders and states that they rank next to Jopu, but almost of the same rank. The Gubhaju of Kathmandu who criticised Oldfield's table of Bauddha castes in Napal stated that all the divisions of Udas are merely occupational and that Āwās are usually Jyapoos.

As regards the position of the Udas, Oldfield's order was not objected to by the Gubhaju although he criticised other statements of his. As the real position must have been well known to a Gubhaju, Oldfield's view may be accepted. Hamilton's account is much less full in all respects and as we shall see contains other inaccuracies in addition.

All the authorities are argeed that there are no real differences between the different classes of Udas, i.e., by marriage and the rules of the tables. It may therefore be definitely accepted. Again all the principal occupations followed by Udas, and the corresponding professional terms agree in both the lists. It is true Hodgson gives three more classes than Oldfield but the exception is more apparent than real. The three classes are Barahee Kurmee, Kotajoo and Sinha-Khwo. The first, the Barahee Kurmee is similar to the term Balhaij which seems to me a contracted vulgar variant of it; the latter occurs in Oldfield's table of heterodox or mixed Hindu and Bauddha Newars and the specialised occupation ascribed to them (Appendix D) is the same as of the Barahee Kurmee. Hence the two terms are the same. Morever according to the Gubhaju the Balhaij is the same as Sikami (Appendix D), both being

1. Oldfield: Ibid., Chap. XIV.
2. Hodgson: Manuscript volume entitled "*Ethnography*."

carpenters, only with different names. The reason of the difference in name for the specialised occupation has been given by Hodgson. The group therefore has been placed separate only on account of certain peculiarities connected with the work pertaining to it and constitutes no exception. The other two classes have, on Hodgson's own statement, abandoned their traditional profession in favour of trade and agriculture. In Oldfield's time they must have been still more assimilated to other groups—if we admit that they had been separate—returning themselves perhaps simply as Uda or under some other head.

It is not important whether the Kotajoo or doorkeepers once existed separately or not and the evidence does not allow any critical investigation. As regards the other group I am inclined to think that Hodgson's information was correct. He was quite a good observer, and a resident in Nepal for years. His statements show very few mistakes, and none of an obvious and glaring kind. When therefore he gives so many details about the Sinha-Khwo, it has to be admitted that the tradition of such a group was still lingering in his time in Nepal, although very naturally it may have died out later.

Only one more point remains, viz. the statement of the Gubhaju that most of the Awals are Jyappoos. Hodgson states that in his time the Uda Awals supplemented tile-making with trade and agriculture; although this is not mentioned by Oldfield. The latter however never gives so much detail as Hodgson. It is not at all improbable that the Udas may have given up tile-making in favour of the more dignified pursuit—at any rate according to the recent Brahmanic influence to which they have submitted—of trade, and the work of tile-making may have passed more or less completely into the hands of the next group of people in Bauddha Newar Society.

HODGSON'S ACCOUNT		OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
The term Uda includes many different people, and although these are looked upon as one and the same caste, and not in any respect different, yet as each of them pursued a particular trade, it was separated from the rest under a name to answer the profession.		The Udas are divided into seven classes, which however eat together and intermarry. They eat from the hands of their superiors the Banrās who however do not reciprocate it. They are orthodox Buddhists ranking above Jyapoos and others but below Banrās. The divisions are:	
Barahee Kurmee	Carpenters, and makers of the wheel of the car of Matsyendranāth. Their name is derived from their wearing a mask of the goddess Barahi when working at the car.		
Seekurmee or Sikami	Wood and ivory carvers and makers of household furniture.	Sikami	Carpenter
Mudheekurmi	Confectioners.	Maddikarmi	Bakers
Tamat	Worker in copper and brass.	Thambal	Makers of vessels and other articles of general use, of copper, brass and zinc.

HODGSON'S ACCOUNT		OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT	
Kāsā	Worker in bell metal.	Kassar	Worker in metallic alloys
Lohang Karmi	Worker in stone, wood, ivory, etc.	Lohakarmi	Stone mason, making images of god, temples and also working for private houses.
Sinha-Khwo	Formerly red lead makers, now husbandmen, although still returning themselves as Sindurkar.		
Kotajoo	Said to have been door-keepers formerly, now cultivators and policemen.		
Āwā	Brick and tile makers and thatchers of houses. They also add trade and agriculture to it.	Āwā	Tile makers.
Uda Proper	These are said to be descended of Banrā father and Jyapoo or Sresth mother.	Uda Proper	Traders and foreign merchants.

APPENDIX D

In addition to the Hindu and Bauddha Newars discussed in the Appendices A, B and C, there remain a large class of mixed Hindu and Bauddhas, including outcastes. Four fairly full lists are available for these. Oldfield[1] describes them under Bauddhamargi Newars, making it however clear that they are not pure Buddhas but heterodox as he terms them. Hodgson[2] has attached their description to the list which contains accounts of the Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Udas. In his list the Udas follow the three Hindu varnas and are then followed by Jyapoos and others. Earle's "high[3] castes" have already been discussed (App. A); his "intermediate classes" and outcastes are placed alongside the accounts of Hodgson and Oldfield, although he has stated that they are lists of Hindu castes. Hamilton's list of inferior Bauddha castes and outcastes is also added for comparison.[4]

In addition, there is in the Census Report a criticism of Oldfield's table by the Gubhaju mentioned in the preceding appendices. According to him certain of the castes given by Oldfield are Śivāmargi, e.g. Bhāt, Kāthā, Tāti, Kaua and Nau, while Konar and Balhaiji are the same as Sikami. He had never heard of the Tippa, Pulpul, Ballah, Lamu, Dalli, Gaowa and Nanda Gaowah. Further all the eight outcastes are said to be now Śivamārgis.

Before discussing the different lists, I shall add here the estimation of the relative proportion of Bauddas and Hindus in Nepal. The earliest estimate of Hodgson puts down "the vast majority of the Newar race" as Buddhists of one or other denomination, and the minority as Śavias or Śāktas.[5] Oldfield

1. Oldfield: *Ibid.*, Chap. XIV.
2. Hodgson: Manuscript volume entitled *Ethnography*.
3. *Census Report*, 1901, *Ibid.*
4. Hamilton: *Ibid*, p. 33.
5. Hodgson: *Essays on the languages etc.*, *Ibid.*, p. 64.

estimates that two-third of the people are Buddha mārgi, the remaining third being Śivamārgi.[1] According to the Census Report, the proportion of Hindus is from one-third to one-half of the total.[2] Further, the Hindus are said to be gaining ground by fresh accessions and also defections from the rank of Bauddhas, which does not happen in the case of the latter. The general impression received from these facts is that the comparatively small minority of Hindus have been steadily gaining ground at the expense of Buddhists under the rule of the Gurkhas. This is quite natural considering that Gurkhas are comparatively strict Hindus, at least with respect to Newar Hindus, and look upon the Baudhdas as Anācharaṇīya, especially their higher classes.[3]

I shall also put down in this connection some general notes on the thirty classes of heterodox or mixed Hindus and Buddhists as given by Oldfield. According to him, those thirty classes, though of inferior status to Banrās and Udas, are yet all "caste" men and from their hands any Hindu may drink water. They are moreover Bauddhas only in name. They worship openly at Hindu temples and at marriages, funerals etc., they adopt the Hindu ceremonies along with the Bauddha one employing a Brahman to assist their own Vajra Āchārya in the performance of his sacred duties. They are rapidly adopting Hinduism.[4]

I shall now proceed to the discussion of the table. It is evident that Earle's intermediate castes agree remarkably well with the lists of heterodox Buddhists of Oldfield and the Ekthureeahs of Hodgson. This is the reason why this account has been placed beside those of Hodgson and Oldfield, although professedly it deals with Hindu castes. I have not attached importance to this latter aspect of the list of Earle as it was collected in British territories. Away from Nepal, in the absence of Banrās, Buddhists as well as Hindus have to

1. Oldfield: *Ibid.*, Chap. XIV, p. 177.
2. C.R. 1901, *Ibid.*, p. 452.
3. Haraprasad Śāstrī, in the introduction to N. Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*", Calcutta (no date). The actual statement is that they are Anācharaniya but as they are not so to Newar Hindus, evidently this applies to Gurkhas.
4. Oldfield: *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p.

resort to Brahmans and in a more or less strong Hindu surrounding, the tendency will be for all Nepal people to return themselves as Hindus. It is mentioned in the Census Report that even several Udas and Benrās returned themselves as Hindus. Therefore as Earle does not give, and probably had not detailed information about, the priests employed, we may take his caste list as merely a composite one, indicating the various divisions of the Newar people in general. It is regrettable that some Buddhist castes were expunged, or at any rate, as the Census superintendent puts it, all the Buddhist castes were expunged from the table. Their presence would have made the composite character of the list obvious and also allowed an estimation of its completeness. As we shall see later, the elimination has not been thorough, and it would have been better if it had been merely indicated what castes were Buddhists, definitely mentioning why they were so considered.

The following castes.[1] are found both in Hodgson's and Oldfield's list and are not adversely criticised by the Gubhaju:—

Jaffu or Jyapoo	Chitrakar or Cheeka	Gaukau or Ghukoo	Chhippah or Cheepa	Sarmi or Salmi
Gartho or Gatha	Pahi or Pihi.			

The occupations given are practically the same, so that these may be accepted as quite correct. Hodgson gives a much larger number of the sections of the Jyapoo than Oldfield, and some of these are found in Oldfield's list as separate divisions.[2] All six of the sections of Jyapoo given by Oldfield are found in Hodgson's list, agreeing in minute details.

Hamilton also describes the Jyapoos although he wrongly places them above Udas. He has further given a division of Jyapoos lower down the list, with a slightly different spelling Japu, who are potters. Evidently they are the Kumhal section of Jyapoos in the other lists. The Kumha or potters are also

1. The Yugwar are left out for reasons given later.
2. As intermarriage takes place among these to a limited extent, they cannot be described as subcastes.

mentioned in Earle's list. These are of course the same as the section of Jyapoos considered above. It may be that the section has hardened into a caste in the British territories.

The somewhat higher position accorded to Jyapoos in Earle's list by placing them among high castes (App. A.) is borne out by Oldfield and Hodgson's statements and has been exaggerated to the length of placing them above the Udas, by Hamilton.

Only one other caste comes correctly in Hamilton's list, the Got = (=Gātha), who follow practically the same profession as in the other lists.

The Kurmi of Hamilton follow the occupation of the Sikami or the carpenter and the Āwā or bricklayers. The latter are mentioned as a section of the Jyapoos in Hodgson's list and occur as a caste in Earle's table. It will be remembered that in connection with the Āwā division of Udas, the Gubhaju remarked they (the Āwās) are mostly Jyapoos. It may be that this section of Jyapoos had hardened into a caste in British territories and been correctly classified as a separate caste by Earle.

The Kurmis of Hamilton are not mentioned as a separate caste in any list except that of Earle's. It is however evident from the description given in the Census Report and also from evidences from other sources[1] that the term Kawmi or Kami is used merely in the sense of artisans. These Newar artisans should not however be confounded with the Gurkha Kamis who are blacksmiths and outcastes.[2]

The castes Chhippah and Salmi are also found in Hamilton's list, but incorrectly placed among the outcastes. The Chhippah are found in all the other three lists among pure castes and Hamilton is therefore obviously in the wrong. About the Salmi there is no mention in Earle's list, but they are a well known caste in Nepal, and mentioned in the Census Report of 1901 although not in the Table. It is not possible to say whether Gait's elimination of Buddhist castes is responsible for its absence in the list, or not. Oldfield and Hodgson are agreed upon this point and Hamilton seems to have been

1. Hodgson's *Essays on the Languages, etc.*, part I, page 64.
2. Lévi: *Ibid.*, p. 274, *Censns Report* 1901, *Ibid.*; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Kami.

in error in this matter as in the case of several other castes. I therefore consider Lévi's suggestion, that the Salmi might have been impure in Hamilton's time, as wrong.[1] Special weight cannot be attached to any statement of Hamilton on points of social status and precedence, without corroboration from other sources.

All the castes that the Gubhaju qualified as having never heard of occur in both Hodgson's and Oldfield's table, and some of them in the other lists too.

The Lamu of Oldfield, who are said to be the same as Duan, are described with similar details under practically the same names, Laemoo or Dooyn. Hamilton gives the same story of their having saved Prithinararyan's life, and gives them the name Dhui. As they are described originally as hunters and fowlers in general and worshipping both Śiva and Buddha, it is evident that they are a more or less wild tribe, who have been included among pure castes through royal favour and have been influenced by the two religions of Nepal in recent times, aquiring from them a heterogeneous belief. It is therefore quite easy for the Gubhaju not to have heard of them.

I am inclined to consider the Duita of Earle, and the Dhauwi of Oldfield, to be also descriptions of the wilder section of this tribe. These two follow the same occupation, which is naturally that of a jungle people generally and the names are not far from the different variants definitely known to belong to this tribe. It is true that the Dhauwi of Oldfield are placed among outcastes, but this is comparatively easy to understand. The fact that the tribesmen or strictly speaking one of the tribesmen did a service to the king, may lead those who come to the court, to comparatively high social status. Those who remain in the wilds remain as they were before—impure—without the privilege that royal favour has conferred upon their brethren at court.

The Ballah are mentioned along with Lamu, in Oldfield's table and may be taken as the same caste of palkibearers, although the name does not occur elsewhere. In any case a second caste of palkibearers is not mentioned anywhere.

1. Lévi : *Ibid.*, p. 239.

The Dalli are given in Hodgson's description of the Jyapoo as formerly soldiers under the Newar Kings. The details given by Hodgson and his better power of observation and opportunities lead me to accept his version of the Dallis. In this case, it becomes clear why the Gubhaju did not know of them at all. Only searching investigation can reveal the existence of such sections which had a definitely different occupation formerly, but are now merged in the ordinary Jyapoos.

The Tippa and Pulpul occur in both Hodgson's and Oldfield's list with similar occupations, and the cowherds are mentioned in Hamilton's list also; the names for the latter in the lists of Hodgson and Oldfield agree, but differ from that of Hamilton. The common occupation and description in this particular case, as no other cowherd caste is mentioned by anybody, leaves no room for doubt. It is probably due to the difference in the language from which the term is taken.[1]

The evidence for the existence of all three castes is therefore very strong. I wish to emphasise this specially in the case of cowherds for reasons to be given later on. On these matters the fact that the Gubhaju did not hear of them does not carry much weight. For although importance may be attached to his criticism of anything said about his own class the Banrās, and also to the high caste Udas, his information cannot be very accurate about the far removed low strata of Jyapoos and others, who are moreover from his point of view lax in their religious observances and often transgress the law of Buddha.

Hodgson's list supplies the reasons why the Gubhaju may not have at all heard of there casts. Thus the Tippa or Teepa are described as a subdivision of Khoosā and as selling *palong* (a herb eaten fried or with curry in Bengal also). As the main caste name is different and the occupation not particularly important and the caste necessarily weak numerically, it may have easily been overlooked.

The large amount of detail given about Poolpool make it clear that the profession exists. But is also shows that they follow agriculture and trade at the same time, and that they

1. E.g. the terms Gnai, Kassai, and Mamsavikri, used for the butchers and meat-sellers, taken from Newari, Hindi and Sanskrit respectively.

are restricted only to one town. Although the Gubhaju belonged to this same place, the facts indicate the obvious numerical weakness of the caste and therefore absence of general knowledge about them. The case is parallel to that of many castes, in different parts of India, restricted to small areas, of which the extistence has been made known to all only by elaborate ethnographic surveys. It would be rash to say that the average well-informed Brahman priest of any province or division would know all the castes of that area given in a report of the Ethnographic Survey.

Further, as these people discussed above, used to follow other more respectable, and probably more lucrative occupations it is quite possible that in the course of three quarters of a century they have given up the work altogether, taking advantage of the general laxity that has set in, in their social organisation under Gurkha rule.

The case of the cowherds is different. Hodgson mentions definitely that they have for *guru* and *purohit*, Brahmans.[1] The occupation occurs also in the lists of the caste in the time of Jayasthiti Malla, given by Lēvi and Hodgson, and the latter again mentions them as having Brahman priests. This is all the more striking as most other castes are described by Hodson in the list as having Gubha priests. Hodgson's account of their origin (traditional) agrees with these facts and with the actual state of affairs about employment and use of cattle in Nepal.

Cattle do not seem to be bred or used in any way by Newaris, and only a few are kept by the better classes, presumably Gurkhas. The numerous Brahmini bulls set free to graze at liberty, by pious Hindus, are imported from the plains. In the cultivation of land, the Newaris always use the digging hoe, the Kodālie[2], but not the plough. This cannot be said to be

1. The Banrās are said to perform the funeral rites for them, as for the Śreṣṭhas and others. This point will be discussed later.

2. The best authority about agriculture, etc., of Nepal is Campbell. See his paper on "The Agricultural and Rural Economy of the Valley of Nepaul," *Transactions of the Agricultaral and Horticultural Society of India*, Vol. IV, 1837, (Published in Serampore, catalogued in the British Museum under Calcutta), pp. 73, 114, 155.

Also Kirkpatrick: Ibid., p. 100.

O' Cavangh: Ibid., Chap. I.

due to the nature of the ground[1], for the fields often allow of it. In the centre of the valley, there are often dead flats or terraces, varying from an acre or an acre and a half to, it is true, four or five feet, in length and breadth. But the Parbatiyas (Magars and Gurungs) who occupy the confines of the valley and cultivate the lands there on the declivities of the mountain base, and therefore on areas less favourable for the use of the plough than the central portions, (which are almost wholly cultivated by Newars), yet use the plough partially. The Murmis cultivate the hillsides, generally facing the valley, and use the plough, though not often, as their locations are much too steep for it[2].

The point is settled by the fact that "of late years the plough is being more extensively used."[3]

It cannot be said that the non-employment of cattle has risen out of the respect for the cow or buffalo; for the Newars eat buffalo meat while the Hindu Parbatiyas and Brahmans who certainly venerate the cow do not hesitate to use cattle for ploughing the fields.

The only conclusion that can be drawn is that this failure to use the cattle-drawn plough for cultivation was originally due to ignorance of the process and subsequently kept out by strong conservatism and probably also some hostility to the people in contact who possessed the necessary knowledge.

S. Lévi: Ibid., p. 306, but his information is acknowledged by him to be derived chiefly from Campbell.

1. Suggested by O'Cavanagh: Ibid., Chap. II.

2. Campbell: On agriculture, etc., Ibid., p. 155.

Elwes in his article on Nepal quoted before also remarks that cattle are not used in the Nepal valley although it is done (for cultivation) in other parts of the world on steep hillsides, as for example in Formosa. He remarks that buffaloes are valued only for meat and milk.

Examples of the use of the cattle-drawn plough on terraced fields in valleys are found in the neighbouring countries of Ladakh, Tibet and Bhutan.

See W. Moorcroft: *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, etc., London 1841, Part II, Chap. II.

Ahmad Shah: *Pictures of Tibetan Life*, Benares, 1906, Plate 23 gives the picture of plough and cattle.

L. de Milloué, *Bod Youl*, Paris, 1906, Chap. IV. Annales du Musée Guimet.

3. D. Wright: Ibid., p. 46.

The former ignorance of the Newars in the matter of plough cultivation is well brought out by the evidence from Chinese historical documents (Appendix E), which definitely state that the people of Nepal did not know how to cultivate fields with the help of cattle, although at the time they were expert metal and woodworkers and otherwise highly cultured.

The strong conservatism of the Newars in the matter of employment of cattle in any work is very well shown in other matters. Thus cattle are not (i.e. at the time when the account of Campbell was written) employed as beasts of burden. Campbell considers that the uneven surface of the country is scarcely sufficient to excuse their employing man as the only animal of burden. He points out that the rulers of the country drive English carriages, while the transport of every article in their dominion is made on the backs of men and women.[1]

Finally, in Nepal, cattle are not used in driving oilmills as in India, a cruder type being worked by human labour. The cattle driven mill is almost universally used in India[2] and the fact that it has not yet penetrated to Nepal is significant. I have given these two striking facts in favour of the conclusion arrived at about the knowledge of the Newars of handling cattle for work, and also as illustrating how tenaciously they

1. Campbell: Ibid., p. 166, Oldfield however differs from this view. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 98-9. The reasons assigned by him are not however sufficient for the universal non-employment of cattle in the country for this kind of work.

2. G.A. Grierson: *Behar Peasant Life*, VII, Chap. I, Calcutta 1885.

H. Risley: *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. Teli.

W. Crooke: *Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces*, Teli.

Russell: *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*, Teli.

W. Hoey: *Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in N. India*, p. 191, et seq. Lucknow 1880.

E. Thurston: Tribes and castes of S. India, Ganiga.

The exceptions are in Bengal and Assam.

See J. Wise: Notes on Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal p. 390, London 1883 (not published).

F. Buchanan Hamilton: *Eastern India* Vol. III, pp. 676-9.

In Assam a device similar to that used in Nepal is employed and employment of cattle is in general rare among the non-Hinduised Hill tribes. The process employed by highcaste oilmen in Bengal in former times was however quite different, being "rendering" not "extraction."

Oil. *Encycl. Br.*

have kept out even very useful and simple devices which did not happen to have been known earlier. The full significance of this particular point has been discussed in the main body of this essay.

Returning now to the cowherds, the evidence of their existence in Nepal in historical times is undoubted. The occurrence of this caste in the lists of Jayasthiti Malla's code shows that they had a recognised status at the period, and therefore must have been in Nepal a fairly long time, to be so assimilated into the society. Brahmans from India are known to have dwelt in Nepal when Chinese pilgrims visited India in the seventh century A.D.[1] and cattle breeding must have been known at least to those who came under their influence although the animals were not employed in any kind of work. The tradition of cowherd kings and Ahir (also cowherds) invasions of Nepal[2] point to the knowledge of this art in far earlier times.

It is however evident, that the cowherd caste is necessarily small numerically in the Nepal valley; further being Hindus, they escaped the observation of the Gubhaju.

I do not see any reason for disagreeing with the opinion of the Gubhaju that the Konar and Balhaij are the same as Sikami, i.e. ordinary carpenters. The somewhat specialised occupation followed has merely given rise to different professionl names and sections. One of the cases (Balhaij) has been discussed under Udas (Appdx. C) and the arguments and facts put forward there support this view.

When the parallel castes occurring in Hodgson's and Oldfield's list were given earlier (those not objected to by the Gubhaju), the Yungwar were left out. This was done as they were probably the same as the Sikami also. It is true that the Gubhaju did not mention this, although he remarked on the Balhaij. But the latter are carpenters connected with the car of

1. S. Lévi: Vol. I, pp. 154-5.
S. Julien: Memoires sur les countrées occidentales par Hiouen Tshang, Paris 1857, Vol. I, pp. 407-8
Lévi has shown in this connection that Hiuen Tshang did not personally visit Nepal as Julien thought. See, however, T. Watters, "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India," London 1905, Vol. II, pp. 83-5.
2. S. Lévi: Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 72-74, etc.
D. Wright: Chap. II.

Matsyendranātha; so are the Yungwar. If the Balhaij or Barahi Kurmee (see App. C) are the same as Sikami, the Yungwars are probably also the same. Of course there may be a special section of carpenters who build the car of Matsyendranātha, but the evidence does not seem to lie in favour of their having split off into a division resembling a subcaste.

All the five castes described as Śivamārgi by the Gubhaju, occur in the three important lists, of Hodgson, Oldfield and Earle. The spelling and occupation of the Kāthā are given somewhat differently in Oldfield but the Census Report makes their identification quite clear. Hamilton mentions only the Nau, and later on amongst the outcastes, the Kau. As however all the other lists disagree with Hamilton's, this piece of information may be considered incorrect.

Although the occurrence of the five castes in Earle's list might seem at first sight to support the view of the Gubhaju, it has already been pointed out why this is not at all a good ground for concluding that a particular caste belongs to Hindu Newars.

About the Bhāt, some further information is available. In a description of the funeral ceremonies of the Newar Kṣatriyas, Hodgson[1] mentions that on the eleventh day after the cremation, a piece of the brain of the dead man (kept separate before the cremation) is eaten by the Bhat Brahmans. Other castes, as Brahmans, Vaiśyas and Śresthas are mentioned as merely making gifts of eatables, metal utensils and wearing apparel to these people, which also is done by the Kṣatriyas. The making of death gifts to Bhāts is not however restricted to Hindu Newars alone. While, therefore, it cannot be suggested that high caste Hindu Newars make death gifts to acknowledged Bauddhas, the Bhāt cannot be considered as a pure Hindu either. The mention of Banrā priests by Hodgson and Oldfield's inclusion of the group among Bauddhamārgis show that they must be a mixed group.

The Tatee are mentioned by Hodgson not to be wholly Bauddhas; some according to him, have Achārs and Brahmans as priests. The mention of two groups of Tatis in the historical list, one of which weaves graveclothes and is Bauddha, while

1. Manuscript entitled "*Ethnography*."

the other makes clothes for idols, and also sacred threads, presumably for the castes of twice born rank, including Brahmans who act as their gurus, fits in with this statement.

The Nau, similarly, are mentioned by Hodgson as worshipping both Bauddha as well as Śaiva deities; this special mention in their case shows that the barbers had been more influenced by the Brahmanic ideas than the other members of the third group. No such statements however occur about the two other castes.

As both Hodgson and Oldfield claim Bauddha connection for these five castes and the Gubhaju definitely states they are Śivamārgis, and as Brahmanic influence has been gaining ground rapidly in the interval (of over half a century) the sharpness of the differences in the several accounts may be set down to this last process during the intervening period. At the present time, all the members of the third group have come largely under the influence of Brahmans, employing them jointly with Bandyas, in their ceremonies. If therefore, at the beginning of Gurkha dominance certain sections of the third group were partially Brahmanic in their ideas and customs, they would tend to be far more Hinduised when the other more orthodox sections were only partly influenced. It seems to me that something like this happened in the case of the above five castes. For three of them, there is definite evidence from Hodgson that they were partly Brahmanic, even before Gurkha influence had been felt a long time. I merely suggest that it was so for the two other castes also. It has indeed been said before that the Gubhaju's evidence about the heterodox Buddhists is not so strong as for the two orthodox grades. That was, however, in connection with his ignorance of certain castes or sections. As he belonged to the priestly grade of highest rank, a definite statement from him whether a certain caste belongs to his or to the hostile religion, cannot come under the same criticism. In this matter, his evidence has undoubted weight. I am therefore of opinion that the five castes discussed, had a more intimate connection with Hinduism, than the others of the third grade before the recent Brahmanisation set in.

Three castes, not criticised by the Gubhaju, but requiring some discussion, are the Kaussah, Ballahmi and Nalli. The first appears in Earle's list as Khoosal, with the same function as

given in Oldfield. Their Newari name Sāwā is found in another list of Hodgson[1], where they are described as bleeders and suppliers of leeches. The Khusa of Hodgson in spite of the similarity of name can hardly be identified with this caste. The occupation given has no connection with bleeding or inoculating with smallpox; and elsewhere, in a historical list[2] Hodgson has given Sāwā and Khoosā separate. The Kāthā are said to be the principal subcaste[3] of the Khoosa. No other authority has however connected the two together and this cannot be accepted until further evidence is available. Since the subcaste is a definitely separate endogamous entity, it may be considered as a separate caste when comparing the different accounts of the Kāthā, leaving out the question of relation with the Khoosā.

The Nalli are mentioned, outside Oldfield's list, in one other place, a historical list of Hodgson, where they are described as painters of pictures of Matsyendranātha. With the information available, they seem to be a section or caste following a comparatively unimportant, religious vocation and their existence as temple menials need not be discussed.

The Ballahmi of Oldfield are not mentioned by that name in any other list. The Duita of Earle and Dhauwi of Oldfield follow the same occupation, and in the discussion of the Lamu or Dooyn, were considered to be probably the same as this last caste. As the Ballahmi are not mentioned elsewhere by that name, it is possible that they are merely the more primitive and rude section of the Lamu. Nothing more can be said in the absence of further information, and the question is not important.

There are some castes in Hodgson's list not occurring in Oldfield's table. Of these the Moosah may be neglected as Hodgson himself states that they have left their former occupation and taken to agriculture. In this historical list (App. E) also, he describes them as practically non-existent in his time. They have evidently been absorbed in some other group.

1. Essays on the Languages, etc., Part II, page. 14.
2. Hodgson's Manuscript volume: "Institution, Law, Army."
3. The divisions of the Khoosa are described as marrying within each group; such endogamous groups are equivalent to subcastes within a caste.

The Bows described by him as agriculturists are probably some section of the Jyapoos entered under a different name. A caste of Bali who are agriculturists is mentioned by him elsewhere.[1] The Bāla included by him among Khusa subcastes, are also agriculturists. As their origin is stated to be unknown, it is not at all clear why they have been classified with other Khusa subcastes. The term Bali is however mentioned by Earle as a synonym of Jyapoos and all these sections are probably Jyapoos entered under slightly different names. In the absence of further information, they cannot in any case be considered as distinct castes or divisions.

The washermen have been placed by Hodgson among pure castes in his manuscript, when describing the Newar social organization, but mentioned among outcastes in his eassy on Law[2] in Nepal; Oldfield places them among impure castes; Earle also places them among low castes. Further, in both the historical lists (App. E), of Hodgson and of Lévi, the washermen are described as pure castes. In Lévi's list, the Rajaka are said to have been at first impure but later raised to purity by royal favour on account of services rendered. There seems therefore good ground for holding that the washermen at one time ranked with the pure castes. But at the present time, and also in the recent past, the balance of evidence is against a good position of the washermen. The fact that the Gubhaju accepted Oldfield's list of outcastes, merely mentioning that they have now become Śivamārgis, also supports this conclusion.

The castes that remain, are the Tamanta, Cheāta and Chalan of Earle and the additional sections of Jyapoos given by Hodgson, but not found in Oldfield's list.

The coppersmiths of Earle are not found in any list of the third rank of Buddhists, nor in any account of Hindu castes. The only other mention of them, is in the historical lists where Hodgson describes them as a mixture of Bauddhas and Hindus. There are however Udá coppersmiths, as well as Banrā sections of the same, and it may be that Earle's Tamots are merely

1. Hodgson: *Miscellaneous Essays, Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 245 "On the Law and Legal Practice of Nepal."

2. Hodgson: *Miscellaneous Essays, Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 245, "On the Law and Legal Practice of Nepal."

some of these professionals who returned themselves as Hindus following the trade of coppersmiths. In the case of the historical lists, Lévi does not at all mention Udas or Banrās and it cannot be argued who his Tāmrakāras are. Hodgson indeed describes both the Baudha groups but for reasons given (App. E), too much reliance cannot be placed on those tables in the absence of corroboration.

The Cheāta follow the same profession as the Gout of Hodgson's Jyapoos and the same work falls within the professional duties of the Ghukoo. It seems however scarcely likely that there should be numerous sections of Jyapoos for burning the bodies of high caste Newars. The distinction in Hodgson's list is nominal, as intermarriage and commensality is allowed, and both belong by traditional descent, to the same group. The Cheāta are, therefore, probably the same as this particular section of Jyapoos; they may have of course changed into a definite caste outside Nepal.

The Chalan follow a profession similar to that of the Kahabhojas, and are probably the same people. Absence of further definite information precludes their acceptance as a separate section or caste of Nepal.

I should like to point out that there is a group among outcastes, also, who play on the Kāhā at funerals. There are thus two such sections following this occupation, one among pure Newars, the other among the degraded group. What are the other differences between the two is not known and nothing can therefore be said about them.

Of the extra sections of the Jyapoos in Hodgson's list, the Koenaso and Jewanalie are merely ordinary cultivators; similar to them are the Booshee or Pamee who add to this work, the ruder and simpler work of collecting firewood. All these three sections may therefore be considered as ordinary Jyapoo cultivators.

The Cheos are not mentioned anywhere else, and Hodgson himself does not explain what precise duties they perform, and for what deities. In the absence of further information, this statement of Hodgson cannot be accepted. There may of course be a class of Jyapoos who are grooms.

The Mooshaka are also not described anywhere else, but they are mere torchbearers. As no real distinction is shown from other

Jyapoos, it may be conceded that some Jyapoos specially follow this occupation. This kind of menial's work for the gods of the Newars is known from other examples, to be performed by Jyapoos (see also Jyapoo in App. E).

The Ookoo Kumhals are potters specially working for Matsyendranātha, and enjoying a grant of land in return. Such a practice is common to the great temples of India and as there is no real distinction from Jyapoos, there is no ground for criticism. The large amount of details given favours the view that Hodgson's statement is correct.

The Soā section is said to follow the occupation of cooks to Matsyendranātha and also certain menial offices connected with it. It is not very unusual in India to have priests and cooks to a deity belonging to different ranks and castes; and low castes are sometimes associated with the Brahmans, in worship.[1] This statement in itself therefore presents nothing startlingly uncommon, but in the absence of corroboration it is best to assume that the Soā are merely one of several sections of Jyapoos who serve in the capacity of menials, in the worship of Matsyendranātha.

One fact should however be noted about all these sections, that all the divisions of Jyapoos definitely connected with the worship or service of Matsyendranātha, belong to that group of them which claims a Mixed Banrā ancestry.

The different accounts of outcastes now remain to be discussed. Before proceeding to it, a slightly misleading expression of Hodgson should be explained. The curious introductory sentence of Hodgson in connection with the artisans does not at all mean that they are outcastes. He has simply put down alternative translations of the work *Ekthureeah*.

The two renderings given make this quite clear. The mention of outcastes from whom water is not taken occurs immediately after this group in the manuscript, and dispels all doubt on this point.[2] The anomalous phrase remains in the manuscript pro-

1. The case of the Daitas in the temple of Jagannath at Puri is a good illustration of this. They are believed to be of Savara origin. It cannot of course be claimed to be a parallel. C.R. 1901, Bengal, p. 406-7. This does not of course contradict the statement made in connection with the Bhanni.

2. The list of outcastes in his essay on "Law and Legal Practice" settles this undoubtedly, but as this table may be based on Jayasthiti

bably because it was not corrected later by Hodgson. Besides, Hodgson has used the word outcaste elsewhere in a somewhat loose way to denote castes of low social status. It does not necessarily mean impure. In his essay on the geography of the Himalaya[1], he mentions the "helot craftsmen" of the mountains of Nepal and of the valley of Nepal, whom he describes as being "degraded to the extent of being outcastes." The craftsmen of the valley include the following castes[2]:—

1. Po	2. Kulu	3. Nay
4. Chamakhala	5. Dong or Jugi	6. Kou
7. Dhusi (metallurgist)	8. Āwā.	9. Bāli (agriculturist).
10. Nou	11. Kuma	12. Sangat
13.Tatti	14. Gathā	15. Sawō (bleeders and suppliers of leeches)
16. Chhipi	17. Sikami	18. Dakami (housebuilders)
19. Lohong Kami.		

It is evident that this is not a list of outcastes of Nepal at all. It merely gives a composite list of outcastes and the artisans who occupy a lower status than the other castes like Vaiśya or Kṣatriya or the cultivating Jyapoos. If his note on the same subject in another essay is consulted, it is found that this expression with him does not necessarily mean impurity. Thus he proceeds in a note on artisans: "when we consider the indispensableness of these craftsmen it is remarkable that they should have continued to the present day in a helot or outcaste condition not only among Arians (=Aryans) but even among the non-Arians."[3] The

Malla's Code, and as the value of the manuscript as a source of information on Nepal is in any case vitiated by such a glaring error, the above justification is necessary to prove that it is not really a mistake.

1. Essays on the Languages, etc., *Ibid.*, part II, p. 18.

2. The occupations of all the castes are given in the table furnished in the essay. As however most of the castes are described in the table at the end of this appendix and follow the same occupations as in this list, only those which differ or do not occur in the table are given here.

3. Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, p. 120, footnote, On the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal tribes.

craftsmen referred to are however certainly not helots in the plains, nor are they outcastes, except a few. Even these do not fall within the real untouchable castes, but as they are impure, this point is not important.

I shall now proceed to the discussion of outcastes proper. These are said by the Gubhaju to have all become Śivamārgis. But as they were always heterodox, and never seem to have had Banrās as priest, and were served either by caste elders or by other low caste men (see App. E where details are given in connection with the historical list of Hodgson), this means very little. Even now when counted as Śivamārgis, their priests cannot be high caste or pure Brahmans. When Buddhists held their own, this group, standing outside all recognised classes, gave their nominal adherence to Buddhism. Now that Hinduism is in power, the name has changed. This seems to be what has happened.

All the outcastes found in Oldfield's list are found in that of Earle, except the Dhauwi. This caste has, however, been already discussed under Dooyn, when treating of the third grade of Bauddhamārgis. In his manuscript Hodgson omits the Sangar and the Dhunt. But the latter are described as Dong or Dung by Earle, and there is no difference in occupation between them and the Jugi musicians. In the list of outcastes given by Hodgson in his essay on the geography of the Himālaya the two names are treated as synonymous. In the list given in his article on the Law of Nepal, however, he mentions both Jugi as well the Dung, or Duni, but no occupation is given. The two castes are probably the same, although this is not absolutely certain.

The Sangar has already been discussed, and Oldfield is accurate in his matter.

Hamilton gives some of the castes correctly, others wrongly dragging in members of other classes. The Salmi, Chhipi, and Kow have already been discussed. As the Tepai have no description attached to them and do not occur in any other list of outcastes, attempts at guessing what caste is meant, are unnessary. The Kusulia, Kasai and Puria have been given more or less correctly but the Chamkals are wrongly described as

leather-workers. Their occupation has been confused with that of Kulus, while their own occupation is given to the Bala, who do not appear in any other list as such. It is quite possible that this word is merely a synonym of Chamkallak.

It may be noted that except the Jugi musicians, all the other professions are dirty, degrading or involve little skill or progress in arts.

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
The different divisions of the heterodox Buddhists are Jaffu, divided into six classes which eat together and intermarry:		The Jyappoo or Kisanee, or cultivators, are divided into three groups according to their descent, and further subdivided by occupations followed. All however intermarry. The groups are called (i) Bheendhungo (ii) Dhungo and (iii) Dungoo, and are said to be descended from Vaisyas, Banras and Sresthas respectively To (i) belong sections Nos. 4 and 15, to (ii) belong Nos. 1, 3, 6-8 and 12-14. Rest are of (iii) group. Priests are Banras and Achars:	
1. Jaffu or Kassini ... 2. Boni	Cultivators.	1. Mulmi, Moot or Mow.	They are said to have come from Kamrup with Matsyendranath. Their occupation is to bring flowers from jungle to sell, and trade. Also they have to supply free to Matsyendranath's temple the *Moussa*, a strong-scented yellow flower, in return for which they hold a jagir from the deity. They also cultivate land.
3. Mu	Cultivators of the aromatic herb *Mussa* offered to gods and also much worn in the hair. They have nothing to do with flowers and vegetables.		
4. Danghu	Land surveyors and measurers.	2. Dungoo	Measurers of cornfields, cultivators, bricklyers, etc.
5. Karbuja	Hereditary musicians at funerals but not at any festivals. They are mostly employed in agriculture.	3. Kahabhoja or Kahaooja.	They blow the Kāhā at funerals. They are also cultivators, etc.

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
6. Kumhar ...	Potter	4. Ookoo-Kumhal ...	Potter to Matsyendrnath Jatadhari Lokeswar, etc. They have a jagir from these deities. Ookoo is the name of a maha in Patan. They are said to be descended from Vaisya and Jyapoo.
		5. Koomahl	Potters, with two divisions, one making red pots, the other black, the latter being inferior to the former. They are also cultivators.
The others are: 7. Dalli ...	A class of sepoys.	6. Duli	It means soldier. They were mercenary soldiers in the times of the Newar Rajas. Since their fall they have been earning their livelihood as cultivators, porters, etc.
8. Balhaij	Makers of the wheels of the car of Matsyendranath. They occasionally do a little other carpentering also.	...	...

1	2	3	4
9. Nalli	Men who paint the eyes of the golden figure of Bhairab on the car of Matsyendranath.	...	...
10. Yungwar ...	Makers of the car of Matsyendranath.	7. Yungwar	To tie the wheels and other parts of the rath of Matsyendranath, to make cots with canes, cultivate, etc.
11. Gaukau	Men who drag the car at the Matsyendra and Bhairab Jatras.	8. Ghukoo ...	To burn dead of Newars—Banrā, Uda Jyapoo—and to stop the wheels of Matsyendranath's car when they go out of the line of the road.
		9. Mooshaka ...	To carry lights before deities and Newar Rajas. Also cultivators and porters
		10. Cheo ...	By profession grooms; also to sprinkle liquor on the diet of Newar deities. Porters and cultivators also.
		11. Awal	Brick and tile makers and thatchers.
		12. Gout	To burn dead of Newars—Banrās, Udas and Jyapoos and to cultivate and carry burdens also.

OLDFIELD's ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
		13. Booshee or Pamee ...	To bring wood from jungles. Also, culitvators and porters.
		14. Soā	To cook for Matsyendranath, and clear the place where the deity has his dinner.
		15. Koenaso	Cultivators and porters.
		16. Jewanalee	Cultivators and porters.
		Next comes a class of Newars called Ekthureea or out-caste, or single body, distinguished by their professsion or trade." They are seventeen in number, and are as follows:	
12. Chitrakar ...	They paint portraits, pictures, as well as houses.	1. Poon or Cheeka (corrupt form of Chitrakar).	Painters or sacred pictures. Priests are Banrās (-P.B.)
13. Bhat	Dyer of red colour of woollen and hair clothes, but not linen.	2. Bhāt or Bhā ...	Dyers of cloth to red colour and acceptors of death gifts on the 11th day. (P.B.)
14. Chhippah	Dyers of blue colour of any kind of texture.	3. Cheepā ...	Dyers of cloth, umbrella makers, and cultivators. (P.B.)
15. Kauā or Nekarmi	Ironsmiths, working at all kinds of work in the trade.	4. Kow or Nekarmi	Ironsmiths (P.B.)
16. Nau	Barbers and barber surgeons.	5. Naoo or Napit	Barbers and surgeons (P.B.); their water is accepted. They worship

1	2	3	4
			Śiva as well as Buddha. They shave and cut nails of people of castes from Brahman to Jyapoo, but only shave the lower classes. Said to be descended from a Śudra who came with Matsyendranath.
17. Sarmi ...	Extractors of oil from mustard and other vegetables. They are now largely in trade.	6. Salmee or Samee	Pressers and sellers of oil. They have to erect scaffoldings at the Jatras or festivals (P.B.)
18. Kaussa	Inoculators of smallpox.	7. (a) Khoosa ...	There are five branches, of which the Khoosa cultivate and thresh rice.
19. Tippah	Cultivators of vegetables.	(b) Kutā	The Kuta, the principal branch, cut the navel pipe.
20. Kalthar (spelt Kāthā in C.R., 1901, when reproducing the list.)	Wound-dressers. (in C.R. 1901, they are described as navel cord cutters. This list otherwise follows Oldfield faithfully.)	(c) Teepah	An offshoot of the Khoosa, said to be offspring of a Khoosā woman by a Vaisya Raja of Newar. They sell palong, a table vegetable.
		(d) Gnai Gubha	Priest of Gnais. There is at present only one such family.
		(e) Bālā	Parentage unknown. They are cultivators, and also erect stages, etc.

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
		These five classes do not intermarry.	
21. Pulpul	Carriers of light at funerals.	8. Poolpool (found only in Kathmandu).	They go before the dead of Newars up to the Ghāt, carrying an earthen lamp in a small basket, and also a bell and a basket. They are cultivators and traders too. (P.B.)
22. Konar	Carpenters who make the Charka (spinning wheel) and other accessories for spinning. They do not do general carpentering nor will other carpenters generally make these.	9. Koonā and Yungkurmee.	They prepare perfumes for the deities; also make Charkas, etc. The Koona is said to be descended from a Barahee Kurmee father. (P.B.).
23. Garhtho (spelt Gāthā in C.R. 1901).	Gardeners.	10. Gātāh	Gather and sell wild flowers. On the festival of Ustmātrikā, they take a live dog and tear it with their teeth and nails like a rapacious animal and drink the blood.
24. Tatti	Workers in cotton-wool for clothing the dead and for night caps for infants'	11. Tatee	They weave pongā, a kind of cotton cloth to put on the dead of the Newars, and also the cloth with

1	2	3	4
	heads when the hair is first cut off.		which certain servants of Matsyendranath cover themselves, at the time of performing services; also when a Newar adopts Buddhism, or a Sati immolates herself on the funeral pyre. Priests are generally Banrās except some who have Brahman and Achār gurus.
25. Ballah ... ... } 6. Lamu ... ... }	Palki-bearers for the royal family and some of the wealthy sirdars. The Lamu are the same as Duan or Putwārs, one of whom saved the life of Prithinarayan, the Gurkha conqueror of Nepal.	12. Dooyn or Laemoo or Putwar.	Hunter and fowler. They are said to have saved Prithinarayan's life and enjoy royal favour; the literate can be clerks at court, the illiterate palki-bearers. Their priests are Banrās but they take diksha from Brahmans.
7. Pihi	Maker of wicker-work baskets, measures of corn, and umbrellas such as the poor use when working in the fields.	13. Pahee or Pakree	They consider themselves to be the original Jyapoos. They make baskets, brooms, etc., also bring bamboos and reeds from jungle. They worship both Buddha and Śiva.
		Gamal	An offshoot of Pahee; they make baskets, brooms. etc.

1	2	3	4
		Thémee Srisht	An offshoot of Pahee; they bring and sell corn from villages.
		14. Goa	There are two divisions:
28. Gaowah ..	Cowherds.	Nandgoa	(i) The Nandgoa descended from a Jyapoo mother, and
29. Nanda Gaowah		Khagoa	(ii) The Khagoā, of Khoosā mother, the father being a Goālā of the plains in both cases.
30. Ballahmi	Woodcutters and sellers of household fuel.		The first breed and sell cattle, and the second breed and sell fowl. The latter have now given up their profession of poultry breeders. Brahmans perform all the auspicious ceremonies, the Banrās the funeral rites. They follows both Śiva and Buddha.
		15. Sughang	Washermen, title Rajak. (P.B.)
		16. Moosā	Formerly weighers of flesh. Now traders and cultivators. (P.B.)
		17. Bow.	Cultivators. (P.B.)

1	2	3	4
Japu ...	Cultivators; the Newari synonyms are Bali and Doka-Kawmī. High castes.	Jopu	Next to the Bangras among Buddha mārgis pure, are these. They were originally all cultivators, but some have now become traders and porters.
Intermediate castes:			
Kumha	Potter; the Khas term is Kumhal.	Uda	These follow next to the Jopu; but almost of the same rank. They were originally all traders.
Bhat	Religious caste; receiver of gifts at funerals.	Next follow three castes of nearly the same rank:	
Chhipi	Dyer of cloth.	Got	Gardeners.
Kau	Blacksmith.	Kurmi	Bricklayers and carpenters.
Nau	Barbers.	Now	Barbers
Cheātā	Burners of the bodies of high caste people.		
Chalan	Musicians who attend when dead bodies are taken to be buried.	Next come three of nearly same rank:	
Khusal	Innoculators of smallpox. A Newari equivalent is Sāwā.	Songat	Washerman.
		Japu	Potmaker.
		Hial or Sial	Cowherds.

1	2	3	4
Katha	Cutter of the umbilical cord.		
Kawmi	Carpenter and sweet-meat maker. Sikawmi, Lohar Kawmi are the Newar names for workers in wood and iron respectively. The caste name is however merely Kawmi.	Nearly of the same rank are the persons called by Newars Dhui and by Parbatiyas Putaul, persons who carry the palki of the Rajas. None but Bakali Bangras will serve them. All the castes enumerated up till now are pure, and Hindus of any rank may drink water drawn from a well by them.	
Tamauta	Metal utensil maker.		
Gāthā	Gardener.		
Tāti	Weavers of winding sheets.		
Āwā	Mason.		
Duitā	Collector and seller of wood and fuel.		

OLDFIELD'S ACCOUNT		HODGSON'S ACCOUNT		EARLE'S ACCOUNT		HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
These castes are mixed Bauddha and Śiva mārgis:						The touch of these caste defiles:	
Nai or Kasai	Butcher: killer and seller of Buffalo meat.	Nae or Kasai	Butcher: their priests are Nai Gubhas and they follow both creeds.	Nai (or in Khas) Kasai	Butcher	Salim	Oilmakers and weavers of garlands.
						Kasulia	Musicians
Joghī	Musicians at Newar festivals.	Jugi	[Tailors and Musicians.	Jugi (or in Khas) Kusu-liah, Suchikar	Tailor and Musician	Still lower are:	
						Kasai	Butchers.
						Chhipi	Dyers.
Dhunt ...	Ditto.	Dung or Duni (Law and Legal Practice of Nepal.)	...	Dautta, Dung. Duni or Dong.	Musicians.	Still lower again are:	
						Kow Tepai	Ironsmiths,
Dhauwi ...	Wood cutters and charcoal burners.	...	...	...	...	...	...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Kulu ...	Leather workers.	Coolloo	Basket makers and leather workers. Tribal elders are their priests.	Kulu ...	Drummers and curriers.		
						Three exceedingly low castes follow:	
Puriya ...	Fish-catchers, executioners and dog killers.	Pooriah	Public executioners, fowlers and fishers. They also take the coverings of corpses.	Po,Pore or Porya.	Sweepers, and burners of dead bodies, executioners and workers in bamboo. But they will not remove night soil.	Puria ...	Fishermen and basket makers.
						Bala ...	Remover of offal, etc.
Chamkallak	Sweepers.	Chamokhullak.	Night-soil removers. They accept the 11th day gifts of Cooloos. Some are criminals.	Chamākhalā	*Mehtar*, i.e. night soil remover.	Chamkal	Dresser of leather and shoemaker
Sangar	Washersmen.	Sangat (from "Law and Legal Practice of Nepal.")	...	Pasi or sangat	Washermen		

APPENDIX E

In the second half of the fourteenth century, Jayasthiti Malla, the King of Nepal invited pandits from the plains of India and had a treatise on the caste-system of Nepal drawn up. This list is quoted by Lévi in his work on Nepal[1] and also by Hodgson in his manuscript.[2] For the sake of comparison, the two lists have been put side by side. Hodgson's list started, according to his introductory sentence, from the vilest castes, ascending to the highest. The order has been reversed for convenience, but no displacements have been made except in the case of one caste, the Kāsā or bell-metal workers, who were described by him immediately after the Vajra Ācharyā, and before the Pithacharj. The order of Lévi's arrangement has been changed to make comparison possible but the numberings show the order in which the castes came in the table. The numbers do not generally agree with those given in Lévi's book, as I have left out the twenty-one castes, of which no description of occupation is given. It is evident that they cannot be of any use in such a table. It should be remembered that Lévi gives the Sanskrit terms for the castes, while Hodgson's terms are mostly Newari and sometimes Parbatiya.

In addition to the castes given in the list proper, Lévi furnishes information about other castes. According to him, the Brahmans from the plains who drew up the rules, admitted that the Bandyas of Nepal were the true descendants of Brahmans and Kṣatriyas, converted by Buddha Krakucchanda in the Tretā Yuga. Evils of the times and Śaṅkarāchārya's compulsion had led to their abandoning the celibate life and taking to family life and secular pursuits. But they were honoured none the less by the four Varṇas. Hence they were recognised as Brahmans and Kṣatriyas according to their descent, but as they were held

1. Lévi: *Ibid.*, page, 232 et seq.
2. Hodgson: "Army, Law, Institutions." He gives another similar list of castes under the title "Rules of caste by Raja Vishnu Mull."

to be all of one class like Sannyāsis, they were not formed into subdivisions.

The population was divided into sixty-four castes, of which forty-three have been given and twenty-one omitted for reasons stated.

In addition, there was a large group of illegitimate progeny of the Brahmans of the plains who had fallen willing victims to the charms of the women of Nepal. The population while it respected and welcomed Brahmans, were not at all disposed to accept a degraded position for these children of irregular union. The Brahmans had solved the difficulty by forming them into a group, calling it Jaisi, a more or less indeterminate class which aspired to rise to the rank even of Bandyas. But as soon as these latter were recognised as Brahmans, the pretension of the Jaisis had to be disallowed. They were then divided into four sections, Āchārya, Daivajña, Vaidya, Sreṣṭha, according to the position of their mothers in Newar social organistions. The Jaisi Āchāryas born of a mother of the Āchārya class fulfilled the function of Āchārya for the group of Jaisis. The Jaisi Daivajñas became their artrologers, while the Sreṣṭhas represented the Kṣatriyas in this particular community. The Jaisi Āchāryas were further subdivided into three classes, and the Daivajñas into four, while the Sreṣṭhas had a large number of divisions. The ten upper classes of Sreṣṭhas and all Āchāryas and Daivajñas were allowed to wear the sacred thread. The distinction made in the case of Sreṣṭhas was due to the fact that they followed diverse occupations of which some are respectable, others not particularly so. Further, the practice of medicine was reserved for Jaisis, those who followed it being grouped into one caste, which had four subdivisions.

The peasants, Jyapus or Jaffus, who form half the indigenous populations of Nepal were ranked as Sūdras and divided into 32 classes. The Kumhals or potters, formed four other divisions of the same class, while the Podhyas comprehended all vile occupations in their professional duties. This last group and the Charmakāra and the Rajaka are impure in that their water cannot be taken. In the seventeenth century, however, Laksmi Narasimha Malla of Kathmandu, as a reward for services, done to him, raised the last mentioned caste to the status of purity.

I shall now compare the two lists. It has already been point-

ed out that there are twenty-one castes in Lévi's list of which no description is available; consequently no objection can validly be brought that a caste which occurs in Hodgson's list does not find place in Lévi's table. This point has to be left indeterminate. The only way of comparison is to see how far the available description of Lévi's list agrees with that of Hodgson.

The similar castes have, as far as possible been put side by side, and bring out the close agreement strikingly. Thirty-three castes out of forty-three have parallels in Hodgsons's table, and the four castes mentioned later, are also found there. Apparent differences, as in the case of Bandyas of different kinds, disappear, if the account given of Bandyas in Appendix B is read in this connection. In some cases, as for the group of courtiers and counsellors, the whole group finds a parallel in one or more castes, as in the Amātya and courtiers of illegitimate royal birth in Hodgson's list. Sometimes the description in Hodgson's list enables us to separate the classes and classify them properly, as the different Brahmanical Āchāryas, some of whom correspond to Āchāryas and others are (8, 9, 10), probably connected with Jaisis. Generally, however the absence of details in Lévi's list makes closer identification impossible. Of the two wood-workers, the one mentioned as carpenter in both lists have been equated, leaving the Dārukāra and Yangkarmi, who have therefore been placed side by side. Similarly I have put, but more arbitrarily, the two weaver castes, one beside the pure Tatti and the other lower down, according to their position in the list, which although not made clear, has some bearing as regards their place in the hierarchy. Both the weaver castes, however, are marked with queries, showing that Lévi is not sure of their profession.

Of the castes of which the occupation is given in Lévi's list, but which do not occur in Hodgson's table, three are marked with notes of interrogation, and being speculations, may be left out. The Silpikāra or artisans pure and simple may also be left out, as by itself it is a term for a group of castes, not a single caste name. The omission of the singer and actor is not serious as also of the regulator of weights and measures. The absence of plasterers and ivory-turners are the only important exceptions. It is quite possible, however, that Hodgson or his informant may have considered them equivalent to one of the

numerous groups of carpenters and masons, and thus left them out.

In spite of these discrepancies the general agreement is remarkably good, and as Hodgson had about as much facility to examine documents and people (and perhaps more) as Lévi, his list may be accepted as fairly accurate. The real importance of the lists is, however, in the light which they throw on the condition of the Newars, before the recent distrubances. It has become apparent from the discussions in the previous appendices that most of the arts were formerly practised by Buddhist Newars and are even now largely so. Some striking exceptions have already been discussed. The evidence of these historical lists, so far as they go, cannot be said to run counter to this conclusion. For although ostensibly a classification of Hindu castes, the table of Jayasthiti Malla is really composite. Bandyas become Brahmans, Jyapus are Sudras and so on. As no Buddhist rule or religious revival is known to have occurred in Nepal after this time, it is evident that the present Buddhists must have existed then as now to some extent at least. To judge from the gradual decline of Buddhism with the passage of time, Buddhism was then probably stronger than now. Hence Lévi's list cannot be considered as that of Hindus solely. As in the case of Earle's list (App. D), the composite nature of the list is merely known but not shown in it. The other list, that of Hodgson supplies the data on this point. The different castes are described and their priests indicated. There are other details, some of which I have given, omitting others which are not directly connected with their position in the social hierarchy. If these data are accepted as correct in the sense of being derived from reliable sources,[1] the historical lists fit in very well with the conclusions arrived at from present day conditions.

The castes that have Brahman priests alone, are the royal and warrior castes, court officials, scribes, astrologers, the different Āchāryas who are a kind of priests of local deities, and two artisan castes—the cowherds and the weavers who make the sacred thread and clothes for idols.

1. There is no data to go by on which to examine the two lists critically by themselves, about their sources, etc. We have only the reliability of the observers to depend upon.

The Hindu weavers are evidently from their occupation a very special group and although not mentioned in any of the lists given for the present state of castes, may exist as temple menials at least. For clothes of idols cannot come from the makers of grave clothes who are mentioned both in the historical as well as modern lists. Beside these, there are no other weavers in Nepal; all the spinning and weaving necessary for household needs having been performed up till now at least, by Newari women.[1]

The cowherds have been discussed in the preceding Appendix, and it has been shown that they are a Hindu caste. Hence if we now proceed to compare the list of Hindus here obtiained with that of the existing Hindu castes, meaning by Hindu, in both cases castes which have only Brahmans as priests and are not heterodox—the resemblance is very striking, and close. The two apparent discrepancies merely tend to support the agreement.

I do not at all wish to emphasise the information obtained from these two lists, as it is not possible to subject them to a good test. It is however quite clear that no argument can be drawn from them against the conclusions of the preceding Appendices. Whatever their real value may turn out to be, they support those inferences very closely. This is all I wish to draw attention to in these lists.

I shall add to this appendix some Chinese accounts of Nepal (which have been quoted by Lévi) for completeness.

The first Chinese traveller who mentions Nepal is Hiouen Tsang who visited the countries of the West in 629-44 A.D. He however did not visit Nepal in person and his account is rightly held by Lévi to reflect the prejudice of the plainsmen against the mountaineers. According to him the country is very suitable for cultivation of grain and abounds is fruits and flowers;

1. *Note on the state of Arts of Cotton spinning, weaving, printing, and dyeing in Nepal*: by Dr. A. Campbell, J.A.S.B., April 1836, p. 219, et seq.

How universal spinning and weaving is in Nepal may be judged from the fact that every Newar parent has to present his newly married daughter with a *yeau* (Newari spinning wheel) and *keko* (Newari seed separator) in addition to her dowry. Compbell's description of the *yeau* and *keko* leaves no doubt that they are the same instruments as spinning wheel and seed separator of the plains of India.

copper is mined and exported and used as currency. The people are treacherous, cruel and ignorant of any literary knowledge but clever in the arts.

Much greater information is available from the mentions of Nepal in the annals of the Tang dynasty. Lévi considers that the lost accounts of Wang Hiuen Tse, who came to Nepal at about the time of Hiouen Tsang's departure from India, supplied the greater part of the materials. In any case the description evidently refers to the time of Narendra Deva of Nepal who was reigning when Wang Hiuen Tse visited the country.

According to the annals, the people shave their heads to the level of their eyebrows; they pierce their ears, wearing tubes of bamboo or horn of oxen, and it is a mark of beauty to have ears falling to the shoulders. All their utensils (and implements)[1] are of copper, which is also used as currency. Traders, shopkeepers and itinerant dealers are numerous, but cultivators are scarce, as they do not know how to work with oxen. Their houses are of wood and the walls sculptured and painted. They are fond of dramatic representations and of playing the trumpet and tambourine. They are also clever at forecasting destinies and in natural philosphy, as also at drawing up almanacs. They worship five celestial deities, sculpturing their images in stone.

Then follows a description of the magnificence of the King, wearing pearls and precious stones and the palace with its seven-storied copper-roofed tower and its columns, balustrades and beams all inlaid with gems and precious stones.[2]

It is therefore evident that as early as the seventh century, the people of Nepal were skilful workers of stone, wood and copper and had attained excellence in other departments also. As regards the statement about cultivation, I take it in the sense of plough-cultivation with the help of bullocks; which seems to be the meaning from the context. It would be interesting to know the exact connotation of the Chinese ideograph translated by "cultivation" in French.

1. Tous leurs utensils sont faits de cuivre.
2. Sylvain Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, Part II, pp. 65-67, Quoted also in his *Le Nepal*, Vol. I, pp. 163-5.

The actual writing down of these details in their present form dates about three centuries after Narendradeva, but as pointed out the materials are believed to have been mainly gathered from the lost account of Wang Hiuen Tse.

HODGSON'S LIST		LEVI'S LIST	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Devabrahmana ...	They are to be spiritual guides to Rajahs and men of good castes, of social rank of Sresthas and upwards.	1. Brahman or Dvija or Vipra	Sacerdotal caste. They are divided into the Pancha Gauda and Pancha Dravida.
Rajah ...	To govern and rule according to maxims of political wisdom.	2. Bhūpā, Rājā or Kṣatriya	The kings and the military caste.
Thaku, Thakoju and Thakur. ...	Soldiers Priests to be Brahmans (= P. Br.)	5. Mantrin	
Amātya or Mahat	Menial servants of princes.	6. Sachiva ...	Comrade
Bhāro or Srestha	Traders and shop-keepers. Priests to be Gubhals (P.G.) or Brahmans, according to creed.	7. Amātya ... These three castes comprise the high officers of the court.	Minister.
Kayastha or Kaith	Scribes and notaries. (P. Br.)	3. Lekhaka	Writer.
		4. Kāyastha ...	Scribe.

HODGSON'S LIST		LEVI'S LIST	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Jaisi or Josi ...	Astronomers, astrologers, and performers of such religious rites as they can. They are to marry with Sresthas (P. Br.)	11. Grahachintaka 12. Jyotisha	Astronomers.
		13. Gaṇika ...	Astrologer and calculator of events.
Raj Lavat ...	Royal Bastards, following occupations at court.	14. Daivajña	Diviner.
Thakoo Lavat or Patra Vans. ...	Royal bastards following profession of arms (P. Br.)	Jaisi (See discussion)	
Devācharj	Priests.		
Gurbacharj	To give *diksā* to Sivamārgi Shresthas and minister in all auspicious rites.	8. Pujita ... 9. Devachinta ... 10. Āchārya ...	These three cases probably included the priests of different ranks employed in the worship of local deities or expiatory ceremonies. The Pujita is without doubt the priest of the temple of Śiva and Śakti. The Āchārya is the Brahman of the Hinduised Newars, to whom

1	2	3	4
			he is the spiritual guide and priest at certain ceremonies. The Devachinta is another variety of this type.
Karmachar ...	To perform menial services at the Taleju temple. Their guru and purohit shall be Brahman.		
Sivacharj ...	To make Puja at the temples of the Lingam and to exercise other offices of priesthood according to ability. They should marry into the middl egrade of Sresthas.		
Pithacharj	To make Puja at all Peeths, and perform the Bali (sacrifice) and house purificatory ceremonies. They should marry into the middle grade of Sresthas. They are to wear the sacred thread and have Brahman priest.		
Vajra Āchārya or Gubhal.	Priest to Banrās, Shresthas, Jyapoo, Madhi Karmi, Sikami, Lohangkami, etc. as mentioned below.		

1	2	3	4
Banrā or Bandya	Goldsmith and worker in all metals; assayers and metallurgists. They are tonsured.	See discussion for Bandyas.	
Bikhu—Bandya or Bikhu—Burraj	To make vestments of deities in esoteric worship. They are tonsured. (P.G.)		
Kāsā	Worker in bell metal. (P.G.)	25 Kāmsyakāra	Workers of common alloys and bell metal and casters of bells.
Madhikarmi	Confectioners (P.G.)		
Barhi or Yang Karmi-	Wheel wrights and makers of spinning-wheels. Brahman or Bandya according to creed.	19 Dārukāra ...	Wood-worker.
Lohangkami	Stone masons and carvers of stone images (P.G.)		

HOGDSON'S LIST		LEVIS'S LIST	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and description*
Dhanwantar or Baidya	Physicians, to give last unction but not medicine.		
Kisani or Jypoo	Agriculturists, but not to use the plough. They act as carriers of Puja apparatus and throw away the sacrificial remains after the Bai has been performed and is over (P.G.)	Jyapu (not given in list. See discussion).	Cultivator.
Tamot or Tama	Braziers, workers in copper and zinc and also gold-platers. Priests are Brahmans, Jaisis or Achars. If Buddhist, priest is a Gubha.	27 Tāmrakār	Brazier.
Tatti	To make dresses for the idols and caste thread or janeo (P.Br.)	24. Karnika	Weaver (?)
Udas	Traders, home and foreign (P.G.)	...	...
Kumhal	Potter. Priest is an Achar.	22. Kumbhakāra	Potters.
Gwā or Gwālla ...	Cowherd and milkman. (p. Br.)	28. Gopāla	Cowherds.
Sikami	Carpenter. (P.G.)	20. Taksaka	Carpenter.
Swarnakar or Loonkarmi	Gold and silversmiths. (P.G.) Barbers are of the Kassai caste (=B.K.).	26. Suvarṇakāra	Goldsmith.
Khooso or Khoosal	To play the Kāhā before funerals and to help the Salmi at scaffolding in certain Pujas.	...	...

HODGSON'S LIST		LEVI'S LIST	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name af Caste*	*Occupation and description*
Kepoj or Tépé	To grow or sell palong (a kind of green herb eaten at table) and to play on the Kāhā before funerals(P. G.)(B.K.) Allowed to cultivate fields.		
Mosānta or Moosah ...	Packers of meat in butcher's shop. Few or none exist now.		
Salmi ...	Pressers and sellers of oil. They have to make the scaffolding for repairing and building temples (P.G.) (B.K.)		
Chitrakar ...	Painters; to draw pictures of gods and goddesses and colour them. Also, to make and sell spirituous liquors (P.G.) (B.K.) They should not cultivate, but do so at present. At present Hajjams shave and-pare their finger nails, while the Kassais cut the toe nails.	30. Chitrakāra	Painter.
Bha or Mahabrāhman.	They take the death gifts on the 11th day and eat a bit of the corpse. They dye woollens and cotton with red colour. They should not cultivate or keep shop, but do both now (P.G.)(B.K.)		

HODGSON'S LIST		LEVI'S LIST	
Name af Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Kohnal or Koonah	Makers of religious pastilles. Should not Cultivate.	. .	. .
Nau or No . .	Barbers, serving the higher castes, from Brahman down to Jyapoos. They are their own barbers.	17. Nāpita	Barber and Chirurgeon, as well as go-between.
Porya	They shall guard the temples and live by what worshippers give them, and also by fishing, catching wild birds and breeding hogs. They are untouchables and appropriate clothes, etc., belonging to corpses, getting also a fee at funerals.	Podhyas (not given in list itself. See discussions.)	Executioners, killers of dogs, night-soil removers, etc.
Kuthi (Chamar)	Their vocation shall be to make leathern vessels, bags and to work in general in leather. If they take to any other craft, they will be heavily fined.	47. Mātaṅgi 43. Chrmakāra	Leather workers and tanners
		15. Śilpikāra	Artisan.

1	2	3	4
		11. Bhārika	Porter (?)
		18. Lepika	Plasterer.
		21. Kṣetrakāra	Land surveyor.
		23. Tulādhara	Weigher (weighing officer). (K.P.C)
		29. Gāyana	Singer.
		31. Naṭījīva	Actors who prostitute their wives.
		32. Vyāñjanakāra	Cooks (?)
		33. Kirāta	Hunters (?)
		38. Kundakāra	Ivory turner.
Sanghat	Washerman (P.G.) (B.K.)	40. Dhobi	Washerman.
		41. Rajaka	Dyer and cleaner.
Pichini	Professional accoucheurs; women of the Kata caste (P.G.) (B.K.)	32. Nadichedi	Cutter of umbilical cord (?)
Kou or Nah Karmi	Ironsmiths (P.G.) (B.K.)	39. Loha Kāra	Smith; ironworker.
Pool Pool	Torch carriers at funerals (P.G.) (B.K.)	...	...
Chipa ...	Dyers (P.G.) (B.K.)		
Māli	Gardeners and cultivators (P.G.) (B.K.)	33. Māli	Gardener.

HODGSON'S LIST		LEVI'S LIST	
Name of Caste	*Occupation and Description*	*Name of Caste*	*Occupation and Description*
Gāthā	Gather and sell wild flowers (P.G.) (B.K.)		
Sawāl	Apply leeches for bleeding (P.G.)		
Nāri	House painters (P.G.) (B.K.)		
Kassai or Gnai	Butchers; castemen are barbers. Priests are Gnai-Gubhas (of the Khoosas). They cannot cultivate fields.	34. Māmsavikrayī	Butcher.
Tatti	Weaver of grave clothes (P.G.) (B.K.)	36. Tantukāra	Weaver (?)
Next follow the outcastes who act as their own barbers: caste elders are generally their priests. The Bhat does not accept their alms.			
Koosoolia	To play music at marriages, funerals, etc., to beg and serve as sweepers.		
Dop, Dom or Bhand	To play on the small drum with the Koosoolia and to prostitute their wives, for livelihood.		

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